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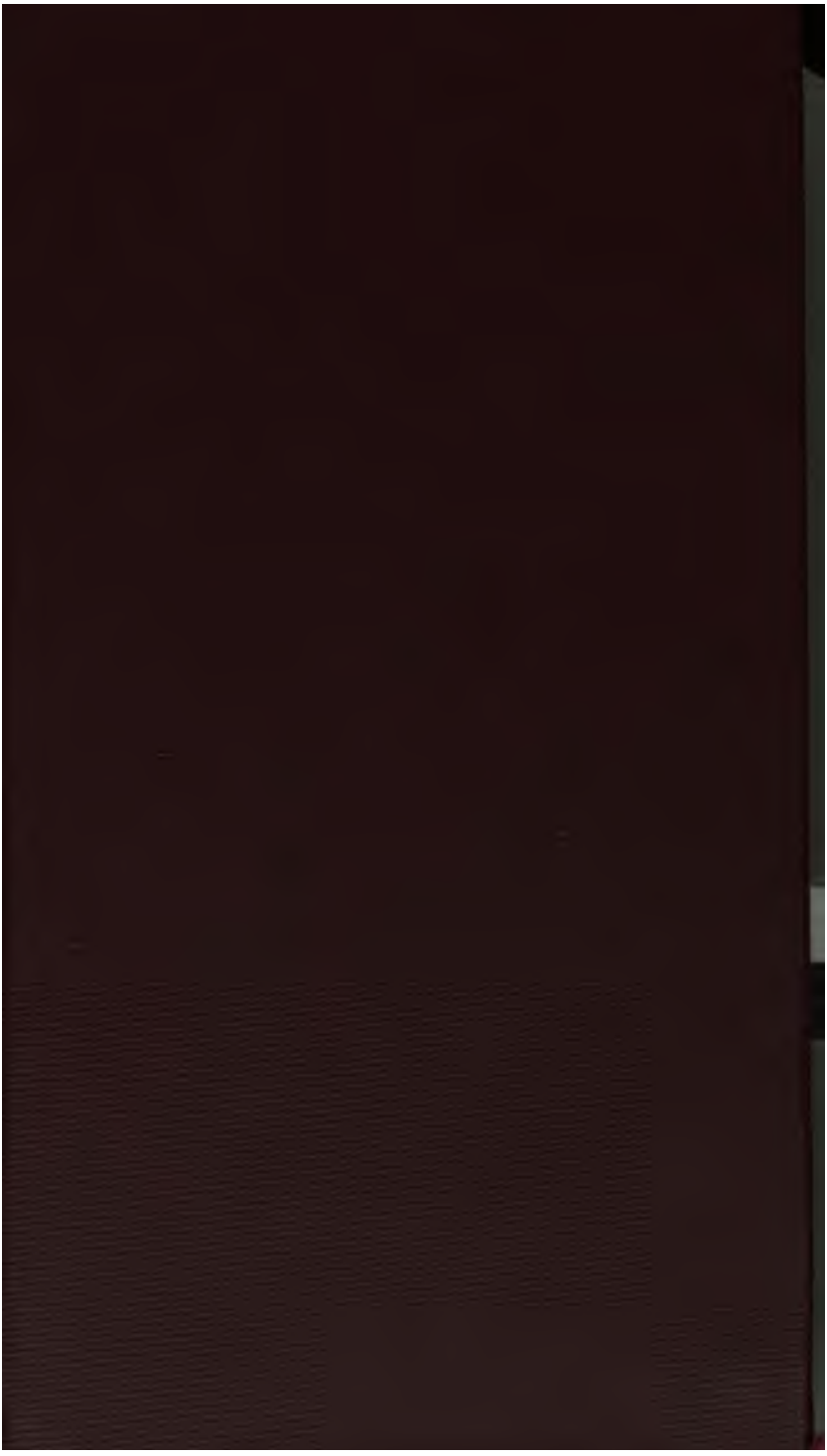

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MAYNOOTH COLLEGE;

OR,

THE LAW

AFFECTING

THE GRANT TO MAYNOOTH,

WITH THE

NATURE OF THE INSTRUCTION THERE GIVEN,

AND THE

Parliamentary Debates thereon.

BY

JAMES LORD,

OF THE INNER TEMPLE, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

LONDON:

JOHN RICHARDS & CO., FLEET STREET;

HODGES AND SMITH, DUBLIN; MACLACHLAN AND STEWART, EDINBURGH.

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LONDON:
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-Street-Square.

TO

JOHN P. PLUMPTRE, ESQ. M.P.

WHO,

WITH A CHRISTIAN FIRMNESS AND MODERATION,

ALIKE REMOVED FROM BIGOTRY ON THE ONE HAND, AND

AN UNPRINCIPLED LIBERALISM ON THE OTHER,

HAS EVER SHOWN HIMSELF THE ZEALOUS CHAMPION

OF THE

PROTESTANT INSTITUTIONS OF HIS COUNTRY,

The following Work

IS DEDICATED,

AS A TRIBUTE OF SINCERE RESPECT,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

It has been my endeavour in the following pages to set before the public a correct view of the question touching the Parliamentary Grant to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth; a question trifling indeed, if contemplated with reference only to the magnitude of the grant; but of great importance when, from its mere pecuniary consideration, we turn to the principle it involves — the nature of the education it promotes — and the alarming evils resulting necessarily therefrom. It then, emerging from its apparent littleness, rises to one of the utmost moment — involving the great responsibility which they incur, who, either nationally or individually, participate, *willingly*, in the support of such an institution.

It has been my object to place in the hands of those wishing to investigate the subject, the means of doing so, without being compelled to have reference to documents not easy of access. For this, no merit is due to me; I have but followed in the steps of those who have preceded me; theirs has been the labour and difficulty of research; mine,

to collect into this form that which they had before brought to light, and with a great portion of which the public are already acquainted. It has been my wish to give —

1. A brief history of the origin of the institution.
2. The laws by which it was established.
3. The objects had in contemplation, and their failure.
4. The nature of the works used in the course of instruction there.
5. The applications that have been made to Parliament to withhold the grant, and the grounds on which those applications have been rejected.

This, I trust, has been faithfully and correctly done. To me, from the nature of the subject, it has been a work attended with many painful feelings. Though desirous of dealing rather with principles and systems, than with the individuals belonging to or professing them, it is, I know, thought by many impossible to condemn a system without, at the same time, condemning those who are the promoters or the victims of it. This may, to a certain extent, be true; but most fully do I believe that there are many little acquainted with the baneful principles of Popery — untinctured with its bigotry — who yet give their adhesion to the system, and greatly promote its advancement. Against such I have written nothing; but would

here entreat of them *deeply* and *widely* to explore, and, in the honesty of their conviction, to renounce what is unworthy of their support.

The subject is either utterly contemptible, or deserving of the most grave consideration; for while it is universally admitted that the hand of education moulds the future man, how important is it that they who are, as it were, the guardians — who have the tuition of the infant* mind — beneath whose auspices each rising generation is to be moulded — should themselves be imbued with those principles of sound morality, of pure and scriptural religion, which are most conducive to the happiness of man and the prosperity of the empire — without which education does but more rapidly mature, and more perfectly develop, and more powerfully urge to action, some of the worst passions and propensities of human nature.

To prevent the spread and influence of evil principles requires the utmost care. "Dangerous in their own nature, and in the hands of private persons, they become tenfold more so when fastened on the minds of those through whom the moral and religious instruction of the great

* It is so especially with the priesthood of the Church of Rome, for at the age of six or seven years, or even earlier, it is recommended that children should attend the confessional.

mass of the people is to be conveyed." Such is the real nature of this question — a question now acknowledged as too important to be trifled with.

I know the illiberal observations to which I thus expose myself; but *in the path of duty*, far from shrinking back on account of the difficulties it may oppose, and more desirous to follow, *through Divine assistance*, what in my conscience I believe to be right, than to escape the odium to be incurred by doing so, — they are a meed I would rather covet than avoid, with the Roman orator — "invidiam virtute partam, gloriam, non invidiam putarem."

Let it be proved and demonstrated that the noxious principles and doctrines herein contained or referred to are not to be found in the books from which they are cited or to which reference is made, or that those books are not returned as the class-books and books of authority as used, studied, or referred to at Maynooth College, for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland, — and I will readily admit myself to have been in error, and most unfeignedly ask pardon of any individual man, or any body of men, who may so think themselves to have been calumniated and abused. But this cannot be done; and the inquirer, unwillingly convinced, is irresistibly driven back and fixed to the painful conclusion that these

books are of authority in that college; that they contain the noxious and dangerous passages hereinafter cited from them; that the Romish priesthood of Ireland are taught and trained in them; and that, imbued with the principles of a morality so impure, and a theology so profane, they go forth from that seminary, throughout the British empire, propagating those principles in which they are deeply rooted,—principles subversive of the established institutions of the country,—and accomplishing their work of demolition the more effectually because proceeding under the garb, the sanction, and authority of religion. Oh! solemn mockery of that sacred name! Religion was designed to sweeten the bitter waters of this life, by bringing in the blessedness of another world to alleviate the sorrows of the present; but these misguided men — like "blind leaders of the blind" — pervert the means — defeat the end; making religion the engine of their tyranny; depriving their unhappy victims of those blessings it should confer upon them here, and leading them away from an entire reliance upon the sinner's only hope of happiness hereafter. Wretched state of society indeed, when that which should prove the *antidote* becomes the *bane*, and religion — false and perverted — is made the source of those evils which it is her sole prerogative to cure!

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* On this occasion, in consequence of notice of motion given by Mr. Plumptre for the 23d of June, there was but a short discussion: the House divided — Ayes 121, Noes 32; majority 89.

THE

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE GRANT.

Introductory observations.

It may be thought, by some, that enough has been said upon the subject of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, to render such a treatise as the present needless and uncalled for; nor, indeed, would it have been undertaken, if the charge against that college had been disproved, or the annual support from parliament discontinued.

Inasmuch, however, as that charge has met with no refutation, and no withdrawal of the grant has taken place, the two great causes which first elicited observation still continue to demand it; and must plead as an apology with the public — should any be required — for the present attempt to bring more fully under their consideration the true position of the question.

Its importance, with reference to the state of Ireland, is becoming daily more apparent; and the charges made must be disproved, the abuses complained of reformed; or an enlightened and

Christian people will no longer assent to its continued support from the public funds. Endeavours may still be made to mystify the question, and to avoid those results which may be anticipated as the almost necessary consequences of investigation. But it is felt, now, that inquiry can no longer be eluded; the attention of the public is too much aroused to the enormities of that system; and when fully informed as to the motives which led to the grant in the first instance — the terms upon which it was made — the great evils it has tended to produce — the total failure which has followed upon the experiment — and the yet worse consequences to be apprehended, if they tacitly assent to the continuance of what they perceive to be notoriously and manifestly wrong, — there will be one unanimous voice deprecating a continuation not only of that grant, but all participation in the guilt of producing those evils, which that institution tends to foster and promote.

There are causes that exist in communities unnoticed by those whose peculiar province it may be to detect, to expose, and to counteract them; they may have continued long, and silently in operation, producing their natural effects unknown or unobserved — and thus not deriving upon a nation, a government, or an individual, the same degree of guilt, as when, the evil being detected, and the cause pointed out, it is still from some motive of expediency permitted

to continue; effects, though seen and known by all, may yet, never have been traced back to the principles from which they flow — the causes from which they may have resulted. It seems to have been thus to a great extent with Ireland, where, more than in any other portion of the British empire, law is systematically evaded, or defied; where the people, plunged by their priesthood, into the vortex of political agitation, are, in too many instances, victims to that misery and degradation which their own acts of lawless violence have occasioned.

Popery the chief cause of Irish grievances.

The evils that affect the sister island, while they have been feelingly deplored, have been too much regarded as referrible to the peculiar character of her people; an error that may be refuted by a reference even to Ireland herself, where a general tranquillity prevails in some portions, while others are in a state of the greatest excitement, agitation, and alarm. The contrast between the north and south of Ireland is most striking: in the former, though with an inferior soil, the people are more happy, prosperous, and contented, than those of the south of Ireland; though, by the bounty of Nature, more richly favoured. Nor to any peculiarity in the Irish character, were the evils complained of universal, can they be justly traced. In one part of that country the law is respected and obeyed; in another it is violated and despised. These different effects must be produced by different causes;

and to another source than any peculiar characteristic of the people must be traced those evils so much to be lamented and deplored. They are not the property of the climate, the soil, the position,—no, nor the temperament of that generous and warm-hearted people; they grow out of that false and corrupt system of morality and religion prevailing there, instigating the unhappy and deluded people to those fearful deeds of private vengeance and reckless insubordination, which render life and property insecure, and lead, where maturely developed, to the perpetration of enormities the most frightful, the most terrible, and barbarous, casting a blight over the moral surface of the country, and producing some of the worst calamities, where all might have flourished, that can ennoble or adorn man's fallen nature.

Effect of Maynooth on Ireland.

The evils of Ireland—rightly attributed to popery—are said, by impartial and disinterested observers, to have been rather augmented than diminished by the Maynooth system of education. Such is the concurrent opinion of those who have had good opportunities of judging, and whose testimony cannot be suspected of partiality, or unfairness. And, indeed, when the system complained of is understood and rightly contemplated, it will appear no matter of surprise that so superabundant a harvest of crime, sedition, disloyalty, and misery, should result from it. Among the multiplicity of objects which

laim the attention of public men, this seems to
e one that has received far less than it deserves,
s will be apparent from those partial and shal-
ow discussions which have occasionally taken
lace respecting it. It will be well if, without
eference to any party in the state, this question
ay be considered in its true position, instead
f being viewed through that medium which the
olitical or religious bias of different parties
ay present it. Thus will be removed, by union,
ne grand obstacle to the attainment of the
esired object. By the Roman Catholic, how-
ver, it may be held an act of arrogance and
resumption on the part of Protestants to inter-
eddle with any course of education conducted
nder the superintendence of the Romish hier-
rchy. To the infidel and liberal, any inter-
erence by the state may appear vainly arrogating
o herself duties with which she is entirely un-
oncerned, and which none but the most narrow-
minded, the most bigoted, the most intolerant
nd mistaken, can think it incumbent upon
emselves, or the nation, to assume; while
mong those who take a right view of the ques-
ion, in its moral and religious bearings, there
re doubts, which prevent their acting with that
romptness, unity, and vigour, which should
haracterise every effort, in order to render it
uccessful. They object, on principle, to the Some objections considered.
rant; but, ignorant of the terms on which it
as made, have not felt altogether satisfied in

disturbing or withdrawing it. By some it is considered that the annual grant must be regarded as a legacy from the Irish Parliament; that, having existence prior to the Union, there is a *quasi* compact, by which it is secured *in perpetuum* to the trustees of that institution; and that it must continue to be paid, with the same strict integrity and fidelity by us as the executor of the defunct testator. Upon there having been a compact the greatest stress was laid, by the Roman Catholic party, during the discussion that arose on Mr. Plumptre's motion in June last. That, however, is abandoning the merits of the case, and resting it purely upon technical grounds. Indeed, viewing it on the merits, what is there that can be said? Literally nothing; and not less destitute of solid foundation must be all the reasonings, however acute, all the arguments, however subtle and refined, by which, on the ground of a legacy, or compact, the claim for a perpetual grant to the College of Maynooth can be rested. But, viewing it even in the light of a compact, was nothing to be given in return for this boon of the legislature? What was the nature of it? Was all to be done on the part of the nation—nothing on the part of those to whom the national grant was made? The national grant was made for a given purpose. It was with a view of tranquillising Ireland, and insuring to her people a priesthood more attached to her true interest, more loyal and well affected to Great Britain. For those

A compact or legacy.

purposes the act was passed, the grant was made. On the part of the nation, payment followed, in performance of the compact; for fifty years, nearly, has she performed her part; the nation now calls for that, in respect of which the compact was made — the tranquillity of Ireland, a priesthood and population more loyal, more friendly to our establishments, and better affected to the interests of the United Kingdom. If, however, instead of tranquillity, — tumult and agitation of a character the most fearful prevail; — if, instead of a priesthood more loyal, a population more peaceable, and an increased attachment to the interests of their common country, — treason and rebellion are applauded, if not inculcated as duties, and the hostility of the Roman Catholic has become daily more rancorous and deadly; — is it not high time to withdraw that support which has lent its aid to the production of this fearful position of affairs? a position from which nothing hardly, short of a miraculous intervention of Providence, can deliver us?

Nothing in the Acts of Parliament to support either of these suppositions.

Those who have viewed it as an absolute compact, or as a legacy dependent upon no condition or contingency, will not find, on reference to the acts of parliament, any support for either of these opinions; any provision so favouring the construction of a compact; or that it is to be considered as a legacy, in respect of which the British nation has no choice, as a faithful trustee and executor, but to pay it, and

so fulfil the intentions of the departed testator. If, indeed, any compact be contended for, beyond a doubt there was this condition annexed: — that if the end for which the grant was made should not be attained, the grant should be discontinued; there was a contingency, on the happening or the failure of which, that *quasi* legacy should be discontinued. It was bequeathed for the purpose of securing to Ireland a priesthood more loyal, more peaceable, and better affected to the interests of their country, than those had been found who had received their education chiefly, or entirely, in the continental universities.

Experiment has failed.

If, instead of doing this — instead of promoting the good of the country, it had merely left things as they were, it would, even then, have failed of its objects, and there would be no ground on which to demand its continuance; much more then, when, after an experiment of nearly fifty years, the effects are the very contrary to what was anticipated and desired; — when the priesthood it was sought to conciliate have become more hostile, when those evils have been increased which it was intended to prevent, is there every reason, on the ground of strict right, sound policy, and absolute necessity, that the grant should be withheld. This, however, is doing but little; the nation is not so poverty-stricken that it cannot afford a few thousands a year for the education of her people; but the

nation, it is to be hoped, is so imbued with sound morality, right principle, and scriptural religion, as not to allow those talents intrusted to her keeping to be worse than squandered upon nothing — to be absolutely employed in arming her sons against her peace and welfare, and placing weapons in their hands that shall be plunged into her own bosom. The withholding of that grant will be the necessary consequence of the investigation (if rightly conducted, and rightly acted on); and a surveillance more strict over that seminary of popish treason, sedition, disloyalty, and rebellion must be established, than has ever yet existed, if we would wish to escape from those frightful evils which seem to be now impending. Grant worse than useless.

If, then, the act were unwise in the first instance; — if the experiment has failed; — if it were a dereliction of principle; — why should the course be continued? An error that is not irretrievable should be retracted: our legislature claims not infallibility; — our laws are not of the same unalterable nature as those of the Medes and Persians. To continue in a notorious error, to persevere in a wrong course, because one false step has been taken, is the height of folly; and, in proportion to its magnitude and importance, whether to an individual or nation, must be attended with danger, and may end in ruin. Unsafe policy of continuing it.

What, then, led to the establishment of this college? It was to render the priesthood of

Ireland more attached to the interests of Great Britain. Has that end been attained? The contrary is notoriously the case. A brief outline of the motives which induced the great statesmen of the day, and that greatest of all statesmen, William Pitt, to accede to the foundation and endowment of *one* college in Ireland, exclusively for the education of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, and the character of those with whom he was in treaty, may be gathered from the following observations of Mr. Colquhoun*:—

Application of Drs. Troy and O'Reilly to Mr. Pitt.

"In 1793, the bishops of the Roman Catholic church, the chief of whom then were Drs. Troy and O'Reilly, applied to Mr. Pitt's government requesting it to found and endow a college for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood; and the argument they used was, that if left to found one themselves the institution would be under popular control, but if the government were to found it they would direct it for loyal and useful ends.

"At the same time that Drs. Troy and O'Reilly were thus communicating with the government of Mr. Pitt, they were in communication with the Roman Catholic committee then sitting in Dublin. While they were holding this language with the one, they were, in concert with Dr. M'Nevin and other members of that committee, concocting the plan of clerical education. It is

* Speech of Mr. Colquhoun, M.P., on the Maynooth College grant.

well, therefore, to understand who this *Roman Catholic committee* were, with whom the Roman Catholic bishops were thus in confidential communication. And here it is right to recall an observation which fell from Sir W. Petty in 1672, but which is just as applicable to the state of Ireland now as it was in his day. 'There are,' he says, 'in Ireland, two governments — the external and ostensible government, which is the English, and the *internal and mystical government*, which consists of twenty Popish gentlemen of good parts and ambitious designs, who are in close correspondence with the priests, draw the funds necessary for their purpose through the hands of the priests, and by their help wield and govern the whole Roman Catholic body of Ireland.' That internal government we can trace all through Irish history. We find it, in the rebellion of 1641, organizing and directing the movements of the Roman Catholics. It disappears for a time after the revolution; but it re-appears in Dublin in 1757; and from that time the historian of it is Mr. Wyse, the present Roman Catholic member for Waterford, who, in his 'History of the Roman Catholic Association,' has traced its progress. In 1793, the Roman Catholic committee was composed of several gentlemen, the leaders being Dr. M'Nevin, Mr. Emmett, Dr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, and Mr. Wolfe Tone. The last-mentioned gentleman occupied in that committee one of the situations, both of

Two governments in Ireland.

which are now held by Mr. O'Connell. He was not the ostensible leader, the lead belonging to Mr. Keogh; but he was, that which Mr. O'Connell is, the salaried and confidential agent of the Roman Catholics, and the secret manager of all their concerns. Mr. Wolfe Tone was employed by the Roman Catholic committee to write the declarations of the Roman Catholics which were circulated among the public. In these they professed their loyalty to the king, their affection for England, and their attachment to British connection. Now this very same gentleman, who was writing these public declarations, at the same time, with the same hand, and the same pen, was recording in his journal — which has since most fortunately been published — the sentiments and designs of the Roman Catholic committee, of which he was a member. In his journal he says of the committee, 'that they were all sincere republicans, that their objects were to subvert the tyranny of England, to establish the independence of Ireland, and form a free republic.' Of the Roman Catholics, whose attachment to England he had in his declaration professed, he says (when mentioning his plan of drawing them and the Protestants into treasonable co-operation), 'the Protestants I despaired of; but I well knew that however it might be disguised or suppressed, there existed in the breast of every Irish Catholic an inextirpable abhorrence of the English name and power.' He

says again, 'the Roman Catholics were trained from their infancy in an hereditary hatred and abhorrence of the English name.' Dr. M'Nevin says, 'that the Roman Catholic committee were immoveable republicans;' and that when the delegates were asked their mind, they all said, 'they were for a republican government and separation from England.' And it may further be remarked of the members of this committee, what Mr. Wolfe Tone informs us, that every one of them was engaged in treason; that Mr. Keogh, though from his greater art he escaped detection, was privy to and concerned in all Wolfe Tone's designs; and that with, I believe, his single exception, they all either mounted the scaffold, or, to escape it, committed suicide, or were banished, or fled from the country.

"Now, it was with this Roman Catholic committee that Drs. Troy and O'Reilly were in confidential communication. Of this, however, and of their designs, Mr. Pitt's government knew nothing; all they knew was the *professions* of the Roman Catholics and the assurances of Drs. Troy and O'Reilly; and on the faith of these they founded the College of Maynooth, in the year 1795. They supposed that they had gained the Roman Catholic bishops, and had secured to England the affections of the priesthood. Now we turn to the journal of Mr. Wolfe Tone, and we find there, that, whilst the Roman Catholic

bishops were making these professions to Mr. Pitt, in 1793, they became in that very year members of that very Roman Catholic committee, joint-conspirators in that conspiracy of treason which was then organising. Mr. Tone says, speaking of the priests, 'whatever might have been at first their doubts and diffidence, when they saw the great body of the laity come forward, they cast away all reserve, and declared their determination to rise and fall with their flocks—a wise and patriotic resolution, which was signified to the General Committee by Drs. Troy and Moylan, who assisted at the meeting, and signed the petition in the name of the great body of the Catholic clergy of Ireland;' so that at the very time when they were *openly* urging Mr. Pitt to draw them out of the popular influence, and attach them to government, by founding the College of Maynooth, they were secretly giving in their adhesions to this association of treason. At the same time, in the same year, 1793, came forward all the Roman Catholic bishops with a voluntary declaration of loyalty, and in the same year Drs. Troy and O'Reilly, with three other bishops, issued an admonition to the Roman Catholics, recommending allegiance to the king; thus blinding the English government with professions of attachment, and covering their conspiracy with these perfidious publications. And it may be laid down as a fact, which the history of Ireland, in the pages,

Declarations of loyalty.

not of a Protestant, but of the Roman Catholic historian, Plowden, will establish, that the Roman Catholic bishops never issued a manifesto of loyalty, *except when they had some political end to compass, or when they wished to cover some secret treason against England, which was not ripe for explosion.*"

The object and effect of these declarations.

"The object of these declarations and manifestoes is now apparent enough. They were intended to propitiate the government of the day, and hoodwink Mr. Pitt with regard to the unconstitutional and dangerous character of the boon they were requiring at his hand — to throw him off his guard, and, by impressing him with a notion of the loyalty of Papists, and the facility with which they might be attached to the crown and government of England, nullify any objections, and induce him to accede to their proposal. There can be no question as to the reception which ought to have been given to it: a proposition so detestable ought undoubtedly to have been met with the scorn and execration it merited. Pitt was a real lover of his country; every fibre of his noble heart glowed with the purest patriotism; he would have laid down his life for his country, — ay, a thousand, if he had them; and his motives on this occasion were, doubtless, patriotic. He unfortunately knew but little of the *real genius* of popery, and still less of the wretched principles of baseness and villany it imposes upon

the consciences of its votaries, under the guise of religious sentiments, moral requirements, and spiritual obligations; and he yielded to the specious arguments of popish sophistry, believed the hollow professions of the priestly cringers, and endowed the Royal College of Maynooth."*

The Act for founding the college.

The Act rendering it lawful to endow *one* college or seminary for the education exclusively of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, was passed in the year 1795†, and is as follows:—

An Act for the better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion.

Preamble.

I. Whereas by the laws now in force in this kingdom, it is not *lawful* to endow any college or seminary for the education exclusively of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and it is now become expedient that a seminary should be established for that purpose; be it therefore enacted, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the Right Honourable John Viscount Fitzgibbon, Lord Chancellor of Ireland; the Right Honourable John Earl of

Persons herein named shall be trustees for establishing, endowing, and maintaining an academy for the education of Roman Catholics.

* Church of England Quarterly Review, July 1839, p. 27.

† 35 Geo. III. cap. xxi. Irish Stat. vol. xvii. p. 511.

Clonmell, Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench in Ireland; the Right Honourable Hugh Lord Carleton, Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas in Ireland; and the Right Honourable Baron Yelverton, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland; and the Chancellor or Lord Keeper, Chief Justices, and Chief Barons of the said Courts for the time being; together with Arthur James Plunkett, commonly called Earl of Fingall; Jenico Preston, commonly called Viscount Gormanstwon, baronet; Sir Thomas Browne, baronet, commonly called Viscount Kenmare; Sir Edward Bellew, baronet; Richard Strange, of the city of Dublin, esquire; Sir Thomas French, baronet; the Reverend Richard O'Reilly, of Drogheda, doctor in divinity; the Reverend John Thomas Troy, of the city of Dublin, doctor in divinity; the Reverend Thomas Bray, of Thurles, doctor in divinity; the Reverend Boetius Egar, of Tuam, doctor in divinity; the Reverend Patrick Joseph Plunkett, of Navan, doctor in divinity; the Reverend Philip Mac Davett, of Strabane, doctor in divinity; the Reverend Francis Moylan, of Cork, doctor in divinity; the Reverend Gerald Tehan, of Killarney, doctor in divinity; the Reverend Daniel Delany, of Tullow, doctor in divinity, the Reverend Edmond French, of Athlone, doctor in divinity; and the Reverend Thomas Hussey, of the city of Dublin, doctor in divinity; and the persons to be hereafter elected as by this Act is

directed, shall be trustees * for the purpose of establishing, endowing, and maintaining *one* † academy for the education only of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion; and that the said trustees shall have full power and authority to *receive subscriptions and donations to enable them to establish and endow an* academy for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and to purchase and acquire lands, not exceeding the annual value of one thousand pounds, and to erect and maintain all such buildings as may be by the said trustees deemed necessary for the lodging and accommodation of the president, masters, professors, fellows, and students, who shall from time to time be admitted into or reside in such academy.

Trustees empowered to receive subscriptions and donations, and to purchase and acquire land not exceeding 1000*l. per annum*, and to erect buildings, &c.

II. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for any popish ecclesiastic to officiate in a chapel or building to be appointed for

Popish ecclesiastics may officiate.

* By 40 Geo. III c. 85. s. 4. it is enacted, "that from and after the passing of this Act, the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, shall *cease to be trustees* for carrying the said recited Act into execution, and that their successors in the said offices shall not hereafter be trustees by virtue of the said recited act for carrying it into execution."

† This Act, it will be perceived, was not intended to make lawful that general establishment of Roman Catholic seminaries which has since taken place.

that purpose by the said trustees, or any seven or more of them, any law, statute, or provision to the contrary notwithstanding.

Seven trustees may appoint a president, masters, fellows, professors, &c., and make bye laws, &c

III. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the said trustees, or any seven or more of them, to appoint one president, and so many masters, fellows, professors, and scholars, on the foundation, and ministers, servants, and assistants of and in the said academy, with such pensions, salaries, exhibitions, wages, and allowances as to them shall seem fit, and also to make such bye laws, rules, regulations, and statutes for the government of the said academy, and for the education and government of all such persons to be on the foundation thereof, or to be educated therein, and for the appointment and election of a president, masters, fellows, members, and officers of the said academy, as to the trustees of any seven or more of them shall seem meet: provided that the same shall not be contrary to law.

Bye laws not affecting religious discipline to be laid before the Lord Lieutenant, and to be binding, if not disapproved by him in one month.

IV. Provided always, That all such bye laws, rules, regulations, and statutes, not affecting the exercise of the *Popish* or *Roman Catholic religion* and the *religious discipline* thereof, be laid before the Lord Lieutenant or chief governor of this kingdom, and shall be binding and valid, unless such Lord Lieutenant or chief governor shall disapprove thereof in one month from the time when such bye laws shall be laid before

such Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor respectively.

Trustees to have visitorial powers.

V. And be it further enacted, That the said trustees, or any seven or more of them, shall have the superintendence and visitorial power over the said academy, and over all persons on the foundation, or educated therein.*

Trustees may assemble in one month after passing this Act, and make rules, &c.

VI. And be it enacted, That the said trustees shall and may assemble within one month after the passing of this Act, at such time and place as shall be appointed by any seven or more of the said trustees, by writing under their hands, and shall at such their first meeting make such rules and regulations for their assembling in future as to them shall seem expedient; and that the acts of the trustees so assembled at the said first meeting, or the major part of them, and of the trustees to be duly assembled at any future meeting, or the major part of them, shall be binding on and be deemed the act of all the said trustees.

Acts of the majority of trustees binding on the whole.

* By sect. 5. of 40 Geo. III. it is enacted, "that so much of the said recited (35 Geo. III.) Act as enacts that the trustees herein named, or any seven or more of them, shall have visitorial power over the said academy or college, and over all persons on the foundation or educated therein, shall be and the same is hereby repealed." And by another provision the visitorial power over the college in all matters which relate to the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Catholic religion is restricted to those only who shall be members of the church of Rome.

When trustees die, &c., others shall be elected, being natural subjects.

VII. And be it enacted, That so often as a vacancy shall happen by the death, removal, or resignation of the said trustees, or any of them (save the said Chancellor or Lord Keeper, Chief Justices, and Chief Baron of the said courts), the said trustees shall at their meeting elect a person being a natural born subject of His Majesty to fill such vacancy.

No Roman Catholic shall act as trustee, president, master, &c.; or be admitted as student or servant, until he take the oath appointed by 13 and 14 Geo. III.

VIII. Provided always and be it enacted, That no person professing the Roman Catholic religion shall act as a trustee to the said academy; and that no person shall act as a president of the said academy; and that no person shall act as a master, fellow, professor, teacher, or tutor, or enjoy any place on the foundation of the said academy, or be otherwise admitted into the same as a student, officer, or servant, until he shall have taken and subscribed the oath appointed by the Act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of His Majesty's reign, intituled "*An Act to enable His Majesty's Subjects of whatever Persuasion to testify their Allegiance to him.*"

Protestants or sons of Protestant fathers not to be received. Penalties to be suffered by any person who instructs a Protestant in the said academy.

IX. Provided always, That it shall not be lawful to *receive into*, or *educate*, or *instruct* in the said academy any person *professing the Protestant religion, or whose father professed the Protestant religion;* and that any president, master, professor, or teacher, who shall instruct any person in the said academy *professing the Protestant religion*, shall remain liable to such pains and

penalties as he would have been liable to before the passing of this Act.

By an Act of this session, 2,449,600*l.* 16*s.* 9½*d.* is granted for the year 1795.

X. And whereas, by an Act of Parliament passed this session of Parliament, intituled, "*An Act for securing the Payment of the Annuities and of the Interest upon the principal Sums therein provided for, and towards the Discharge of such principal Sums in such Manner as therein is directed, and for enabling the Officers of His Majesty's Treasury to receive certain Sums for a limited Time, in Manner therein mentioned, and for granting to His Majesty a certain Sum of Money out of the Consolidated Fund, and for applying a certain Sum of Money therein mentioned for the Service of the Year One thousand seven hundred and ninety-five,*" a sum not exceeding two millions four hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred pounds sixteen shillings and nine pence farthing is granted to His Majesty for the service of the present year; be it enacted,

8000*l.* may be issued from the Treasury towards establishing said academy.

That any sum or sums of money, not exceeding eight thousand pounds, part of the said sum of two millions four hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred pounds sixteen shillings and nine pence farthing, shall and may be issued and paid by the commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or any three or more of them, *towards establishing* the said academy.

Sums issued on said accounts to be paid to trustees, and account-

XI. And be it enacted, That all sum and sums of money from time to time issued and paid out of His Majesty's Treasury on account of the said

sum of eight thousand pounds, shall be paid to the trustees by this act constituted, or to any seven or more of them, and shall be accounted for before the commissioners of imprest accounts.

ed for before committee of imprest accounts.

A few years after this act, it was thought expedient to make further provisions for regulating the affairs of this college; and accordingly, in the year 1800, the following enactment was made *, intituled —

"*An Act for the better Government of the Seminary established at Maynooth for the Education of Persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion, and for amending the Laws now in force respecting the said Seminary.*"

Friday, the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred. Royal assent given.

JOHN GAYER, D. Cler. Parl.

I. Whereas an Act passed in the 35th year of the reign of His present Majesty, intituled "*An Act for the better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion,*" and since the passing of the said Act a college or seminary has been established at Maynooth, in the county of Kildare, for the education of persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, and large sums of money have been granted to the trustees named in the said Act, to enable them to improve and extend the said institution; and it is therefore become necessary to make further provision for the

Since passing the Act of 35 Geo. III. for education of Roman Catholics, a college was established at Maynooth.

* 40 Geo. III. c. 85.

good government of the said college or seminary; be it therefore enacted, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Ireland for the time being, the Lord Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench in Ireland for the time being, the Lord Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas in Ireland for the time being, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Lord Chief Baron of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland for the time being, and their successors in the said offices respectively, together with Arthur James Earl of Fingall, the Reverend Richard O'Reilly of Drogheda, doctor in divinity, and the Reverend John Thomas Troy of the city of Dublin, doctor in divinity, shall be and they are hereby nominated and appointed visitors of the said college or seminary, with full visitorial powers to superintend the same.*

Persons herein shall be visiters of the said college.

II. And be it further enacted, That the said visitors, or any three or more of them, shall, once in every three years from the passing of this act, visit the said college or seminary, and call

Triennial visitations to be made by visitors within twelve months after passing this Act.

* By a subsequent provision (s. 3.) in all matters relating to the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Catholic religion, such visitors only shall act as are Roman Catholics.

before them the president, vice-president, professors, tutors, and all other members thereof, and the officers and servants of the said college or seminary, and diligently inquire into the government and management of the said college or seminary, and, if necessary, examine on oath every member thereof in all matters touching the management, government, and discipline of the same, or any violation of the statutes or ordinances which have been or shall be made for the admission of any member of the said college or seminary, or for the government and discipline of the same, and that the first visitation of the said college shall be held as aforesaid within twelve months after the passing of this Act.

Additional visitations when ordered by the Lord Lieutenant.

III. And be it further enacted, That in addition to such triennial or ordinary visitation, the said visitors or any three of them, shall in like manner visit the said college whensoever and so often as they shall be thereunto required by the Lord Lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland for the time being, by warrant or order signed by him or them: Provided always, and be it enacted, that the authority of the said visitors shall not extend to or in any manner affect the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, or the religious doctrine or discipline thereof, within the said college or seminary, otherwise than as hereinafter is provided, and that in visiting the said college or seminary

Visitors not to affect the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, save as hereinafter.

the said visitors shall judge and determine according to such bye laws, rules, and regulations, as have been or shall be made for the government and discipline thereof, pursuant to the provisions of the said recited Act, or of this Act respectively.

Lord Chancellor and chief judges and Chancellor of Exchequer shall cease to be trustees for carrying recited Act, into execution, but the others, shall continue.

IV. And be it enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act, the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, shall cease to be trustees for carrying the said recited Act into execution, and that their successors in the said offices respectively shall not hereafter be trustees by virtue of the said recited Act, for carrying it into execution; and the other persons named in the said Act in that behalf, or such other persons as have been elected, or hereafter shall be elected, to fill any vacancy occasioned by the death, removal, or resignation of any such persons respectively, shall continue trustees for the execution of the said recited Act, as fully and effectually to all intents and purposes, as if this Act had not been enacted.

So much of recited Act as grants visitorial powers to trustees is hereby repealed.

V. And be it further enacted, That so much of the said recited Act as enacts that the trustees herein named, or any seven or more of them, shall have visitorial power over the said academy or college, and over all persons on the

foundation, or educated therein, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed.

President to be approved of by Lord Lieutenant, and to take the following oath in Chancery, before he exercises his office.

VI. And be it further enacted, That any person who has been or shall be elected president of the said college or seminary, pursuant to the provisions of the said Act, shall, before he shall be capable of continuing or exercising his said office, be approved by the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland for the time being, and shall, some time in the first term which shall follow such his election and approbation, or if now elected, which shall follow such approbation, publicly make and subscribe the following oath in the High Court of Chancery; that is to say, —

President's oath.

I, having been elected and approved as President of the Roman Catholic college or seminary of Maynooth, do swear that I will diligently, faithfully, and conscientiously execute the said office to the best of my skill and judgment, and that I will, so far as in me lies, enforce a due observance of the bye laws, rules, and statutes made for the government and discipline thereof, and that I will bear faithful and true allegiance, and to my utmost endeavours inculcate the duties of faithful and true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Third and his successors, in every member of the said college or seminary.

So help me God.

Bye laws to be approved of by Lord Lieutenant, and deposited in chief secretary's office, as herein directed.

VII. And be it further enacted, That all bye laws, rules, regulations, and statutes which have been heretofore made for the government and discipline of the said college or seminary, and all bye laws, rules, and regulations hereafter to be made for the government and discipline of the same, shall, in order to give them validity, be approved by the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland for the time being, and that all such *bye laws*, rules, and regulations shall be fairly *transcribed* on parchment, signed by the president of the said college and secretary of the said board of trustees for the time being, and lodged from time to time in the office of the chief secretary of the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland: Provided always, that all such bye laws, rules, regulations, and statutes hereafter to be made shall be binding and valid, unless such Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors shall disapprove thereof in one month from the time such bye laws shall be laid before such Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors respectively, and that until such disapprobation shall have been expressed, all such bye laws, rules, regulations, and statutes already made shall be deemed valid and of full force.

Bye laws shall be binding unless disapproved of within one month by Lord Lieutenant.

Not to extend to bye laws affecting the Roman Catholic religion.

VIII. And be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to any bye laws, rules, and regulations

affecting the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, or the doctrine or discipline or worship thereof, within the said college or seminary.

Visitorial powers in matters relating to religion.

IX. And be it further enacted, That in all matters which relate to the exercise, doctrine, and discipline of the Roman Catholic religion, the visitorial power over said college shall be exercised exclusively by such of the said visitors as are or shall be of the Roman Catholic religion, in the presence of the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and of the three chief judges, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if they, or any of them, shall think proper to attend.

Election of Roman Catholic visitors.

X. And be it enacted, That on the death or resignation of the said Arthur Earl of Fingall, the said reverend Richard O'Reilly, and the said reverend John Thomas Troy, or any of them, the trustees for carrying the said recited Act into execution, or any seven or more of them, shall at their first meeting after such vacancy as aforesaid, elect a fit and proper person, being of the Roman Catholic religion, and a natural-born subject of His Majesty, to succeed to the office of a visitor, whenever it shall be so vacant; and shall return the name of the person so elected to the Lord Lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland for the time being, within ten days from such election, for his or their approbation; and such person, if approved of by such Lord Lieutenant, or other

chief governor or governors, shall immediately become one of the visitors of the said college; but if he shall not be so approved in one month after his being so returned, then, and in every such case, the said trustees, or any seven or more of them, shall in like manner proceed to elect and return a fit and proper person to succeed to the said office in like manner, subject to such approbation as aforesaid, and so on, as often from time to time as such vacancy shall happen, by the death or resignation of any of the persons so to be elected in the place of any of them the said Arthur James Earl of Fingall, the said Richard O'Reilly, or the said John Thomas Troy, so that there shall be a continual succession of three fit and proper persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, as visitors of the said college.

Trustees may sue and be sued in the name of their secretary.

XI. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the said trustees to sue and be sued, either at law or in equity, by and in the name of their secretary; and that in any suit to be instituted against the said trustees in any court of law or equity touching the said college or seminary, or any estate, real or personal, claimed by the said trustees in right of their said trust, it shall and may be sufficient to serve their secretary with the process or any other order of such court.

A third Act passed in the year 1808.

In the year 1808, a third Act was passed with reference to this college, allowing the trus-

tees to compromise suits, and to purchase lands to greater extent. That Act was 48 Geo. III. c. 145., intituled — 48 Geo. III. c. 145.

"*An Act to amend two Acts passed in Ireland, for the better Education of Persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion, and for the better Government of the Seminary established at Maynooth for the Education of such Persons, so far as relates to the Purchase of Lands, and compounding Suits;*" and is as follows:

I. Whereas, by an Act passed in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of His present Majesty, intituled "*An Act for the better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion,*" it is, amongst other things, enacted, that the several persons named as trustees in the said Act, and the persons to be hereafter elected as by the said Act is directed, shall be trustees for the purpose of establishing, endowing, and maintaining *one* academy for the education only of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion; and that the said trustees shall have full power and authority to receive subscriptions and donations to enable them to establish and endow an academy for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and to purchase and acquire lands not exceeding the annual value of one thousand pounds; and to erect and maintain all such buildings as may be by the said Irish Act, 35 Geo. III. c. 23.

trustees deemed necessary for the lodging and accommodation of the president, masters, professors, fellows, and students, who shall, from time to time, be admitted into or reside in such academy; and whereas it was by the said Act further enacted, that the said trustees, or any seven or more of them, should have the superintendence and visitorial power over the said academy, and over all persons on the foundation thereof or educated therein: And whereas by an Act passed in the parliament of *Ireland*, in the fortieth year of the reign of His present Majesty, intituled "*An Act for the better Government of the Seminary established at Maynooth for the Education of Persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion, and for amending the Laws now in force respecting the said Seminary*," it is, amongst other things, enacted, that so much of the last recited Act as enacts that the trustees therein named, or any seven or more of them, shall have visitorial power over the said academy or college, and over all persons on the foundation thereof or educated therein, shall be repealed, and that the visitorial power over the said college or academy shall be vested in the persons therein named: and whereas in and by the said last mentioned Act it is further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the said trustees of the said college or academy to sue and be sued, either at law or in equity, by and in the name of their secretary; and that in any suit to be instituted against the said trustees, in any court of law or equity, touching the said college or seminary, or

40 Geo. III. c. 85.

any estate, real or personal, claimed by the said trustees in right of their said trust, it shall and may be sufficient to serve their secretary with the process or any other order of such court. And whereas, as the said two recited Acts now stand, it is conceived *that no power* is lodged in the trustees thereby named, or in the visitors *named by the said last recited Act* to compromise any suit or suits which may arise or have already arisen, concerning the property belonging to or claimed by the said college or academy, and it is thought likely to conduce to the benefit of the said college or academy that such powers should be vested in the trustees for the time being, under the provisions of the said recited acts, or any seven or more or them: and whereas by the said first recited Act it is provided that the trustees thereby appointed shall have power to purchase or acquire lands not exceeding the annual value *of one thousand pounds, and it is fit that the ground on which the buildings stand in which the business of the said college or academy is carried on*, and in which the masters, students, and other members thereof reside, as well as certain grounds immediately adjoining such buildings, held under a lease from *William Robert*, late Duke of Leinster, and used for the immediate purposes of the said college or academy, *should not be considered as part of the value of the said annual sum of one thousand pounds*, to which the trustees of

the said college or academy are restricted as aforesaid: May it therefore please your Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall and may *be lawful to and for the said trustees* named in the said two recited Acts of Parliament, or either of them, or hereafter to be elected pursuant to the directions of the said two recited Acts, or either of them contained, or any seven or more of them, *to compromise and compound any suit or suits* already commenced or hereafter to be commenced, relative to or concerning any property claimed by the said college or academy, or sought to be recovered from it, on such *terms as to the trustees* hereinbefore mentioned, or any seven or more of them, shall seem fit, and most for the benefit of the said college or academy, and for that purpese to make and execute all such deeds, conveyances, and assurances as shall be necessary for carrying such compromise into effect and execution; and that all such deeds, conveyances, and assurances which shall be made and executed by the said trustees, or any seven or more of them for that purpose aforesaid, shall to all intents and purposes be valid and effectual in the law against the said college or academy, and the trustees and members thereof, and all

Power for the trustees of Maynooth seminary to compromise suits, &c.

persons claiming under them, or any of them; and that the person or persons to whom such deeds, conveyances, or assurances shall be made, shall be entitled to have, hold, and enjoy all lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or other property of whatever nature, thereby conveyed, and to have the full benefit of such deeds, conveyances, and assurances as against the said college or academy, and the trustees and members thereof, and all persons claiming by, from, or under them, or any of them; and that the receipt or receipts of the said trustees, or any seven or more of them, shall be a good and sufficient discharge or good and sufficient discharges to the person or persons paying the same, for any sum of money paid to such trustees, or any seven or more of them, as part of the terms of any compromise made in pursuance of the powers given by this Act.

Power for the trustees to purchase lands, &c.

II. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful to and for the trustees for the time being of the said college or academy, or any seven or more of them, *to purchase or acquire lands, not exceeding in value the annual sum of one thousand pounds, exclusive of the value of lands and premises held under the before mentioned lease,* from *William Robert,* late Duke of *Leinster, and the buildings erected thereon, or hereafter to be erected,* and used for the purposes of the said college or academy.

For explaining the power of the said Acts as to purchase of lands, &c.

III. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That any *lands, tenements, or hereditaments al-*

ready purchased or acquired under or by virtue of the power for that purpose given to the said trustees, or any seven or more of them, in and by the said hereinbefore first recited Act, *shall be deemed part of the lands which they are so authorised to purchase or acquire as aforesaid; and that no more lands, tenements, or hereditaments shall be purchased or acquired by the said trustees, or any seven or more of them, than what, together with any lands already purchased or acquired by them, would amount to the annual value of one thousand pounds,* any thing hereinbefore contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Act may be given in evidence when printed by King's printer.

IV. And be it further enacted, That this Act shall be printed by the printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and a copy thereof, so printed, shall be admitted as evidence thereof by all judges, justices, and others."

No national endowment mentioned or intended.

Such are the three Acts of Parliament upon this subject: in neither of them is a national endowment mentioned; nor from an attentive consideration of these documents, and the motives which led to the enactment of the foregoing provisions, does it appear, that an annual national grant or endowment throughout all time was intended to be secured to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth.*

The Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, in their Eighth Report, stating briefly the

* See *post*, parliamentary debates on this question.

history of the institution, the general outline of its establishment, and the duties allotted to its professors, inform the public that the trustees, in the discharge of the powers originally intrusted to them, chose Maynooth for the site of the college. Report of commissioners.

"* That His Grace the late Duke of Leinster gave every encouragement to the establishment. A house and fifty-four acres of land adjoining to the town of Maynooth, were granted by his grace on a lease for lives, renewable for ever, at the annual rent of 72*l.* Twenty acres of land immediately contiguous were afterwards granted on a lease for ever, by Mr. Stoyte, at an annual rent of 140*l.*, and have been added to the property of the college.

"It does not appear that, at the original establishment of the college, any estimate was made of the numbers which it was proposed that it should contain.

"We find that fifty students were admitted in 1795; that the next increase was from fifty to seventy; and that the number amounted in a short time to two hundred. Lay college.

"Although the principal object of the trustees appears to have been the education of persons for the Roman Catholic priesthood, they appropriated a portion of the building as a lay college, and received within it, persons who were not destined for holy orders.

* Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, p. 5, 6.

Lay college discontinued.

"It became, however, apparent, that the different system of education which is deemed necessary for those who are to undertake the duties and obligations of the priesthood, and the additional restraints to which they are subjected, rendered the lay college an inconvenient appendage. It was discontinued in the year 1817, and the buildings and land, which had been appropriated to it, were applied to the use of the clerical students.

College, how supported.

"The college has been principally supported by parliamentary grants, although several donations and bequests have also been received for its use. The parliamentary grants have varied in amount from time to time. For the first twenty-one years they averaged about 8000*l.* per annum, Irish currency. In the year 1808, the grant was augmented to 12,610*l.*, which included a sum of 5000*l.*, expressly granted for buildings, as hereafter mentioned. In the subsequent year, the grant was 8972*l.*, which was continued until the year 1813, when it was raised to 9673*l.* Irish, which sum has been granted annually ever since.

Bequest of Lord Dunboyne.

"The most important addition which has been made to the funds of the institution from any private source, was derived under the will of the late Lord Dunboyne, who had been a Roman Catholic bishop, but conformed to the established church. When dying, he bequeathed his property to the college. This bequest be-

came a subject of litigation between his heir at law and the devisees. The suit was compromised under the powers of the Act of 1808, by the division of the property between the parties. From this source the college receives annually 500*l.* of which a special application has been made by the trustees, as we shall notice hereafter.

* "There are at present 391 students in the college: of these 250 are on the establishment; 110 are pensioners; 20 are bursers; 11 are on the Dunboyne class.

Students on the establishment.

"The expense of maintaining the 250 students who are on the establishment is defrayed out of the money granted annually by Parliament, at the rate of 23*l.* for each student.

"Those who appear on the list as pensioners may be considered as providing for themselves.

Free students.

"The power of nominating the *free students* on the establishment, is allotted to the Roman Catholic bishops; and the appointments are divided among them, according to a scale laid down in the statutes, and adapted to the extent and circumstances of their respective districts. Each student continues connected with the district from which he has been originally recommended, and to which he is destined ultimately to return as a priest. The students, whether free or not, are all recommended by their respective bishops. If admitted at once on the establishment, a

* Report, p. 8.

student pays eight guineas to the general fund of the house. If admitted as pensioner, he pays a deposit of four guineas, and a like sum in addition, whenever he is afterwards placed on the establishment. Each pensioner pays annually twenty guineas for his maintenance, — instruction and lodging being provided for him without any charge.

The Dunboyne fund.

"The trustees have appropriated the money arising from the bequest of Lord Dunboyne to the support of a class of twenty students, who, in passing through the regular course of education, shall have exhibited more than ordinary talent and good conduct. It was intended that the persons in this class should remain for an additional period of three years in the college. The trustees having represented to His Majesty's government that the money arising from the Dunboyne fund should be 'applied exclusively in the manner above stated,' obtained, in the year 1813, an addition of 700*l.* to the annual parliamentary grant, in order to make up the sum necessary for the support of twenty such students.

Additional 700*l.* a year from Parliament.

Only eleven in the Dunboyne class.

"We found, however, at the period of our inquiry, only eleven individuals in this class. As a reason for this diminished number, we were informed that the demand for priests, particularly in the province of Ulster, had been lately so urgent, as not to admit of the Dunboyne

students completing their additional course of three years within the college.

" Besides the priests educated in Maynooth, we are informed that about 120 students are in the course of education in other seminaries in Ireland. The greater part of these are at Carlow; others at Kilkenny, Tuam, Waterford, and Wexford. Other R. C. seminaries in Ireland.

" It appears, further*, that there are about 140 students for the Roman Catholic priesthood, now at different colleges on the Continent. Seventy of these are in the Irish College at Paris, about twelve at Rome, and the remainder at Salamanca, Lisbon, and different private seminaries. Students in R. C. colleges on the Continent.

" We did not conceive that it fell within our province to examine into the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion, except where they appeared to be connected with the civil duties and relations of Roman Catholics, either to the state, or to their fellow subjects.

" We have, in particular, inquired into a breach of the statutes by the late Professor of dogmatic Theology, the Right Rev. Dr. M'Hale, now a coadjutor bishop in the Roman Catholic church in Ireland, in printing and causing to be sold in the college, whilst he held the office of professor there, a political publication, written by himself, in which the policy of discontinuing the established church in Ireland was largely discussed. Breach of statutes by Dr. M'Hale.

* Report, pp. 8, 9.

Expense of education.

"An opinion has prevailed, that the free education which the bounty of the legislature has provided at Maynooth has both induced and enabled persons of a much lower class to enter into the Roman Catholic priesthood, than those who formerly filled the ministerial office, and who without such aid, could not have prepared for holy orders. We *collect*, however, from the evidence, that this effect has not been produced; and that the cost of the previous education, the expenses of admission, and the charge which still attends the course of instruction at Maynooth, accompanied by other regulations adopted by the Roman Catholic bishops, have prevented this result.

Dr. Crotty's estimate.

"Dr. Crotty estimates the first expenditure of a pensioner as follows: —

	£
Outfit in clothes, and travelling to Maynooth - - -	17
Furniture of rooms and college dress *	10
Deposit, of which 4*l.* is paid at entrance, and 15*l.* to refectory -	9
Yearly pension - - -	21
Yearly allowance for sundries and washing - - -	12
	£69

* It would seem that this estimate does not refer to the great bulk of students, who are supported on the govern-

"From sixty to seventy students on an average enter the divinity class every year.

"The lectures are so arranged that each treatise shall always recur once in the period of three years. These treatises are distinct and independent of each other, and consist of ten volumes — five of dogmatic and five of moral theology. The former are — Lectures.

Tom. 1. Tractatus *De Religione.*
2. Tractatus *De Ecclesiâ Christi.*
3. Tractatus *De Mysterio SS Trinitatis.*
4. Tractatus *De Sacramento Pœnitentæ.*
5. Tractatus *De Sacramentis in Genere.*

The latter consist of —

Tom. 1. Theologia Moralis: *De Actibus Hu-*

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ment fund; for, in page 58. of the Report, Dr. Crotty is asked, "Do you think that the present expenses of resorting to Maynooth are, on the whole, greater or less than the old expenses of resorting to the Continent?" and answers that—

"The circumstances of the individuals are very different now from what they were formerly in Maynooth: the great bulk of students, that is, 250 of them, are supported on the government fund. Of those that went abroad formerly, a portion were destined for regular Catholic colleges, where many of them were supported by foundations; and those that were not, and could not get appointments to burses, were generally ordained before they went abroad, and the circumstance of their being ordained supplied them with means which they would not have otherwise." 250 students on government fund.

manis, De Conscientiâ, De Legibus, De Virtutibus, et De Peccatis.

2. *De Præceptis Decalogi, cum Appendice, De Præceptis Ecclesiæ et De Obligationibus Clericorum.*
3. *De Simoniâ, De Censuris, et Irregularitatibus.*
4. *De Ordine et De Matrimonio.*
5. *De Baptismo, De Confirmatione, De Extremâ Unctione, De Gratiâ Dei, et De Deo.*

Lectures on the Scriptures.

"A new course of lectures on the Scriptures is commenced every year. The class-book which is used in the explanation given of the New Testament is the Commentary of Menochius; but occasionally other comments are referred to by the professor, when disputed texts are to be explained.

"The students are also further exercised by means of public disputation, once in the month. A chapter in the Bible is selected, and they are called upon to argue on it, one against another.

"In addition to the several class-books, we have been furnished with a list of other works recommended by the different professors for the perusal of the students, or referred to in the course of lecturing. A list of them will be found in the Appendix.

"The students are at liberty to purchase books for their private use, under certain regulations. A bookseller frequently attends at the porter's lodge to offer books for sale; but it is required that a list of the works so offered should be previously furnished for the inspection of the proper authorities.

Restrictions on purchasing books.

"It is the duty of the dean to examine the books which each student brings with him into college, and it is a general rule that none shall afterwards be introduced without being submitted to the dean's inspection; and if any student should read any book prohibited by the president or dean, he is, by the statutes of the college, liable to expulsion.* It is a part of the

The dean's inspection of books.

* The statutes, and rules of piety, of the College of Maynooth, chapter thirteenth, *Concerning rewards and punishments*, thus provide: — "The greatest crime is that which is punishable with expulsion. Let the students be deemed guilty of such offence —

Crimes punishable with expulsion.

1. If any one shall perversely and publicly refuse to obey the orders of the president.

2. If any one shall pass the boundaries of the college, without having first obtained permission, either from the president himself, or from a person to whom the president may have given the power of granting leave.

3. If any one shall indulge in banquets, or revelling privately in the college, and shall either himself bring in wine or any liquors which cause drunkenness, or shall be privy to such offence.

4. If any one shall have drunk to such a degree as manifestly to exhibit the turpitude of intoxication.

dean's duty to examine occasionally what boc are in their possession.

Newspapers. "The board of trustees have prohibited t introduction of newspapers, under penalty expulsion; but the statute has not been su mitted to the Lord Lieutenant in the mani prescribed by the Act of Parliament, and cc sequently has not at present the force of a la It appears, accordingly, that the rule is i strictly observed; and the dean states that, the law now stands, the superiors have i thought themselves warranted in inflicting sev punishments for its infraction.

Visitations. "The visitations are held once in three yea on those occasions the Lord Chancellor is t person who generally opens the visitation. calls upon the president to state whether, sir the last visitation, there has been any infracti of rule, or anything irregular in the college, require the intervention of the visitors to remc

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5. If any one shall strike another severely, and for purpose of injuring.

6. If any one shall bring into the college books writings tending to calumniate the Roman Catholic ligion, or to relax morals, or to stir up seditions, and li wise if any one shall use books forbidden to the en community by the president or dean.

7. If any one shall designedly withdraw himself fr the body of the students on the public walk, or from eyes of the person to whose charge he may have b committed."

or suppress.; he afterwards calls upon the students to know whether they have any complaints to make against the president or the other superiors. The business gone through at the visitation does not appear generally to occupy more than an hour.

Removals and expulsions.

"No minute is entered or registry kept of the students who are either removed or expelled from the house. But every year an account of all expulsions is submitted to the trustees, and each bishop is made acquainted with the removal of any student who had been recommended by him. The number of those who have been expelled during the thirteen years in which Dr. Crotty has been president may, he thinks, be estimated at from three to four in each year.

Intercourse with friends.

"No practical restrictions are imposed upon the students in their intercourse with their friends. There is a regulation that all letters, either received or sent out, shall pass through the hands of the dean; they are, however, never opened by him, although Dr. Crotty states that it is generally understood, in Roman Catholic colleges, that the superiors have the right of inspecting the letters of the students. This right, it is stated, has never been exercised at Maynooth.

Spiritual retreat.

"It appears that on two occasions during the year, five days are set apart for what is called a 'spiritual retreat,' during the whole of which

period a silence for the purpose of religious meditations is rigidly preserved. One of these takes place early in September, the other at the period of ordination. The object of these retreats is stated to be, to give an opportunity of pious reflection, and preparation for confession, the confession being made at the conclusion of the retreat."

Observations. Into the theology of the Church of Rome, the commissioners state*, they did not feel it their province to examine, except where it appeared to be connected with the civil duties and relations of Roman Catholics, either to the state or to their fellow subjects.

It may be observed, however, that the public support of any institution for teaching a system of theological *error* — a system diametrically opposed to the national religion — is at total variance with, and a violation of, the principle of an establishment; and that so profound a statesman as William Pitt should have acceded to such a proposal, may be accounted for from a general ignorance prevailing as to the real character of popery. The experiment, however wise it may have been thought, has proved a signal failure. "Considered nationally†, the endowment bore very much the appearance of a bribe to the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, to purchase their attachment and loyalty to a

* Report, p. 3.

† Church of England Quarterly Review.

Protestant government. Has it done so? Let the fruits of agitation, and the blood of the murdered Protestants of Ireland, answer the question. The best authority, perhaps, that can be quoted, to show that the anticipated result has not accrued from the formation of the College of Maynooth, is that of the late lamented Mr. O'Driscol, an eminent Irish barrister, and a gentleman whose opinion upon such a subject must be entitled to the greatest weight.* He says: —

Testimony of Mr. O'Driscol. Origin and objects of this institution.

"The College of Maynooth rose out of the changes brought about by the French revolution. The war drove the Catholic students from the colleges of the Continent. The Roman Catholic bishops proposed to provide a domestic education for the youths intended for the church of Rome, in Ireland. Government fell in with these views, and the College of Maynooth was founded. This was a great novelty in Ireland. Great advantages, however, were expected to be derived from it. The youth educated there, free from foreign prejudice against Britain, and all external taint of disloyalty, were to go forth the best of subjects, full of gratitude towards the state, and reverence for state authorities. The Catholic priesthood, from henceforth, if not preachers of the gospel, were certain at least of being zealous apostles of loyalty, and obedience

* O'Driscol's "Views of Ireland, Moral, Political, and Religious," edition 1823, vol. ii. p. 3, &c.

to the laws. We do not mean to say that this did not take place; but we are certain that it did not to the extent which was anticipated.

Continental education.

"Before the establishment of the college, the Catholic youth, intended for the priesthood, were, for the most part, educated on the Continent. There they certainly met with prejudices against England, but by no means equal to those they left at home. The prejudices of the Continent were mingled with respect and admiration: in Ireland, the prejudices of the people were mingled with no respect. England was only known as the cause of innumerable calamities to the country; she was only known in the cruelties she had committed, the tyranny she had exercised, and the injustice which marked every hour of her dominion. There was a rooted and rancorous enmity in the popular mind.

Benefits of it.

"The youth intended for the Catholic ministry were generally taken from the middle and lower classes of the people; those classes in which prejudice abounded most. When sent abroad for their education, they enlarged their views, and rubbed away much of their prejudice. They mingled also, upon the Continent, with men of rank and knowledge of the world, and of extensive information. Their manners were improved by polite association; for they were scattered over a vast field, strewed with varieties of character, and with cultivated minds and the diversified intellect of many nations; and they returned to their native country improved in their

manners, with their national prejudices smoothed down by foreign collision, and their enmity greatly subdued towards a nation whose praise and whose greatness they had been accustomed to hear magnified and exalted in the mouths of foreigners.

"The Catholic clergy of that day often enjoyed on the Continent that most valuable portion of education, — polite and liberal association. Their views of the world and of mankind were enlarged and corrected; they came to the ministry, generally, at more mature age, and with minds better disciplined in the school of useful experiences than it is now the practice of that clergy to do.

Character of "the old clergy."

"Taken altogether, we think the old clergy of the Catholic church were a highly respectable body of men. They are now nearly extinct: but we remember some of them, mild, amiable, cultivated, learned, polite — uniting the meek spirit of the Christian pastor to the winning gentleness of the polished man of the world. They were welcome guests at the table of the Protestant gentry, where they were well qualified to sit, and bring a full and overflowing cup to the intellectual banquet. At the table of their own communion, they lent their influence to soothe the asperities of the time; and they brought their knowledge of mankind, and of their own and foreign nations, to enforce their lessons of patience, fortitude, and forbearance.

The contrast. "When the new establishment began to work, it was called upon to send out its students young, raw, and badly prepared, with little more than some knowledge of the Latin tongue, some ill-digested scholastic learning, a partial acquaintance with the Fathers, and the conceits of a puerile logic. With these acquisitions, they came out also laden with the prejudices of those classes of society from which they were taken. They had brought these with them into college, as into a hotbed, where they had grown and been nourished by the closeness of the place, rather than destroyed by exposure. There was more of the spirit of Rome at Maynooth, than at Rome itself; and we are sure that the Pope has less of Popery in his mind and character than some of the young students of that college."

The sanguinary particulars of the rebellion of 1798 are already too well known to require here being entered into. That rebellion was fomented and brought about by the Roman Catholic committee, through the agency of the very priests, who were to have been indissolubly attached to the British government by the formation of the college in 1795. Thus, in three years, were the first fruits of this iniquitous measure reaped by the English. Within the short space of three years did the British government begin to receive the reward of their "liberal" concessions to Rome.

"The system of education adopted at Maynooth is such as to impregnate the minds of the stu-

dents with sentiments of the bitterest hatred to Protestants, and the most intense detestation of England. Imbued with the sanguinary principles of intolerance and artful equivocation, it is scarcely to be wondered at, that they have constantly joined in all sorts of political movements, and in every species of popular agitation; that their character is one for turbulence, for sedition, and immorality; that they carry out, to the letter, in their practical life, the doctrines contained in the notes of the Rhemish Testament, which declare it essential for a Roman Catholic to believe that it is lawful to murder Protestants, and break faith with heretics. The doctrines instilled into the youthful candidates for the ministry are of so murderous and infamous a description as even to have extorted a most vehement reprobation from Mr. O'Connell himself. The old priests were gentlemen and scholars; the Maynooth priests are notoriously the reverse. Primed to the full with bigotry, intolerance, and hatred of England, the Maynooth priest forms, in the parish in which he is located, a nucleus of outrage upon Protestants, disaffection towards England, and bitter animosity and discord. His breast, a dark concentration of sectarian fury, dogmatical self-deification, and superstitious zeal, inoculates the whole neighbourhood with the deadly virus, and the public mind of Ireland is thus manacled in the grinding fetters of spiritual vassalage.

Conduct of the Maynooth Priests.

"The fact is, that the Maynooth priesthood converted the Popish mass-houses into political club-houses, and vigorously employed their influence in forwarding the election of members favourable to their interests and claims. The connection of the Maynooth priests with the Ribbonmen, in 1820-21, when Ireland was torn and convulsed by endless conspiracies, when Munster and Connaught were in wild commotion, the whole country covered with Rockite gangs and Ribbon confederacies, the roads stopped, houses pillaged, the military attacked, and pitched-battles fought between the king's troops and the infatuated peasantry; and, in short, when the most manifest signs of a general insurrection covered the face of Ireland, has been proved before the committee of 1825. Mr. D. Browne says of county Mayo, that the priests almost all through that county were connected with Ribbonmen. In 1823 the Roman Catholic Association began, or rather, the Roman Catholic committee revived and brought its resuscitated powers into active operation. Mr. Wyse, in his history of that association, in speaking of the part the priests took in its proceedings, says: —

Testimony of Mr. Wyse.

"The clergy, too, sent in their adhesion from time to time. *Maynooth began to be felt.* Irishmen who had never left Ireland were the priests whom it sent forth; a great many of the clergy still retained their former fears — were too much affected by a sense of the decencies of their

order: *but the new class of the clergy were roused; they stepped out, beyond the modesty of their habitual functions, with the activity of public life; the priesthood no longer refused co-operation; they joined every meeting, seconded every proposition, lent their aid to every project, they became interested in the voluntary levies, grew champions in the cause of the association, and the principal channels by which its influence was communicated.*"

Such is the testimony given by one well acquainted with Ireland; and untinged by those party or sectarian views which would lead him to speak with *unwonted* severity of the Romish *faith*, or the Roman Catholic college of Maynooth.

Testimony of other persons.

The testimony of other eye-witnesses is equally important on this point; and, while the concurrent voice of so many unite in tracing back the evils that afflict Ireland to the fearful system of education at Maynooth, no one of a candid and unbiassed mind, acting on sound principle, can still persist in thinking it expedient that that grant and system of education should be continued.

Objection to grant founded on principle—not on its magnitude.

It is not, as already observed, to the magnitude of the burden upon the national resources, that especial attention is directed, but to the object to which it is applied, and the course and nature of that education; and surely it is hazarding no assertion that cannot be supported, to say, that no such course of education ought to be

permitted by a legislature desirous of preserving to their fellow-citizens the blessings which result from sound morality and pure religion, from whatever resources the expenses of such education may be defrayed. The natural results will be misery and crime among those where such principles prevail. Such have, beyond a doubt, been the consequences of establishing this college. Ireland, instead of being tranquillised, has become more turbulent, more excited than ever; the priesthood, instead of becoming more tolerant and more contented, improved on the violence and sedition of their predecessors. These* are facts. Mr. Inglis, who visited in Ireland in 1833, who viewed the country with the eye of a "Liberal," and whose work was highly praised for its peculiar impartiality by the public press, gave this testimony on the subject; and, coming from that quarter, we need scarcely remind our readers that his expressions have all the weight of a reluctant *admission*:—

Testimony of Mr. Inglis.

INGLIS. — "I entertain no doubt that the disorders which originate in hatred of Protestantism have been increased by the Maynooth education of the Roman Catholic priesthood. It is the Maynooth priest who is the agitating priest; and if the foreign educated priest be a more liberal minded man, less a zealot, and less a hater of Protestantism than is consistent with the present spirit of Catholicism in Ireland, straightway

* "The Popish College of Maynooth," by the author of "The Progress of Popery."

an assistant red-hot from Maynooth is appointed to the parish. In no country in Europe, no, not even in Spain, is the spirit of Popery so intensely anti-Protestant as in Ireland."

Another gentleman, whose testimony is equally important, and perhaps still more unquestionable, on account of the opinions he has expressed on other subjects, the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, thus expresses himself in his recent Tour in Ireland*:—"As I departed from the college, grateful for the polite attention of Dr. Montague, I could not but reflect with melancholy interest on the prodigious moral power lodged within the walls of that mean, rough-cast, and white-washed range of buildings, standing without one architectural recommendation on that dark and gloomy flat. What a vomiting of fiery zeal for worthless ceremonies and fatal errors! *Thence how the priestly deluge, issuing like an infant sea, or rather like a fiery flood, from its roaring crater, pours over the parishes of Ireland, to repress all spiritual improvement by their anti-Protestant enmities, and their cumbrous rites!*

Testimony of Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel.

"For those poor youths themselves, many of them with ingenuous countenances, I felt a deeper pity still. There, before they know it, to be drilled and practised for their hopeless warfare against the kingdom of Christ; there to imbibe endless prejudices fatal to themselves and others; *there to be sworn upon the altars of super-*

* "Notes of a Short Tour in Ireland, 1836."

stition to an interminable hatred of what they call heresy, which is indeed pure and undefiled religion; to have prejudice blackened into malice against those who love God; to have all their worldly interests thenceforth identified with priestcraft; to settle down, perhaps, after a fearful struggle between interest and conscience, into Epicurean scepticism; perhaps, in some instances, to teach the people to adore what they know to be a bit of bread; to curse them from the altar, for what they themselves believe to be right and a duty—the perusal of the Word of God; and, lastly, to despise them for trembling at the impotent malediction." While Mr. Crotty, a converted priest, well acquainted with the routine at Maynooth, and the nature of the education pursued there, from having himself been a student at that college; well known, moreover, to the English people, for his able denunciation of the Romish superstition, adds his testimony to the following effect, in his letter to Dr. Murray, December, 1835:—"You have charged me with having opposed, when a student in Maynooth College, the authorities of that house. Yes, I denounced in terms of honest indignation the vicious, narrow, and ruinous system of education pursued in that house, which is the hotbed of bigotry, intolerance, and superstition. I publicly and openly declare the College of Maynooth has never yet produced a gentleman or a scholar, and that there never was an establishment that stands more in need of a speedy

Testimony of Mr. Crotty.

reformation than that house, where 400 Popish priests are fed and educated by the liberality of a Protestant Government, and are let loose upon the world to disseminate the unchristian and anti-social doctrines and principles of bigotry and intolerance which they are taught in that house. To these priests, who are the busy and active agents of Mr. O'Connell, may be imputed the pernicious system of agitation, and the other numberless calamities, that now distract our unfortunate country."

Why has the result been what it is?

Such, then, being the history of the origin of this institution, the laws by which it was instituted, and the objects contemplated by the legislature;—and the result having been so directly contrary to what was intended and predicted, it will be well to see how far any sufficient cause can be ascertained to account for it; it is to be found in the course of education pursued at that seminary, some idea of which may be formed from the following extracts from the works of instruction or reference used in the College of Maynooth. As to what those books *are*, we have immediate evidence on the authority of a parliamentary record; as to what principles they contain, what precepts they enjoin, and what practices they inculcate, the extracts about to be given will supply accurate and ample information. In the year 1826, His then Majesty was pleased to appoint a Commission of Education to inquire into the various institutions for education in Ire-

land. The College of Maynooth was one of those which was investigated. The president, Dr. Crotty, and the professors in that college, made then a return to those commissioners of the class-books and of the standards that were used in the College of Maynooth. These, therefore, are their own books as then returned by those gentlemen, and may be divided into two classes: the first is, as returned by these professors in the parliamentary document, Appendix to the Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Education, p. 449., under the name of "*A list of the books used in the different classes of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, and which the students* ARE OBLIGED *to procure at their own expense.*"

List of books, as returned by Dr. Crotty and others.

The class-books.

Memorial of a Christian Life.

Irish: —

Grammar and Dictionary, New Testament, and Douleny's Catechism in Irish.

English Rhetoric: —

Murray's Grammar, and Jamieson's Grammar of Rhetoric.

French: —

Grammar, Dictionary, Dialogues, Telemachus, and La Fontaine's Fables.

HUMANITY CLASS.

Greek: —

Homer,

Xenophon's Anabasis,

Neilson's Exercises,
Lexicon and Grammar,

Latin: —

Horace and Virgil,
Livy and Cicero's Orations,
Latin Dictionary and Grammar,
Prosody and Gradus ad Parnassum.

They also use an Abridgment of the Grecian and Roman History; as they are obliged to translate the former into Greek, and the latter into Latin.

RHETORIC AND BELLES LETTRES.

Greek: —

Longinus and Demosthenes.

Latin: —

Quintilian, Horace, Virgil's Georgics;
Tacitus, with Dialogue on Oratory;
Latin Prosody, Holme's Rhetoric.

Philosophy (first year): —

Anglade's Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics, 3 vols. 12mo.

Second year: —

Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Dictates on Arithmetic, Darre's Geometry, and Cambridge Course, by Vince and Woods. 3 vols. 8vo.

Sacred Scripture and Hebrew: —

The Holy Bible, and the *Commentaries of Menochius.* 3 vols. 4to. Hebrew Grammar, Lexicon, and Bible.

N. B. The two latter are generally lent to the students from the college library.

Divinity: —

Delahogue's Dogmatic Tracts. 5 vols. 12mo.

Bailly's Moral Tracts. 5 vols. 12mo.

Dunboyne (or Senior) Scholars: —

The Theological Tracts above mentioned, and *Cabassutius* on the Canon Law.

Maynooth, December 12. 1826.

B. CROTTY, President.

These are the class-books of Maynooth, which the students are obliged to purchase at their own expense. But there are other books used in this college, returned by the president under a different head. They are returned as follows, p. 450.: —

The standards, or list of works recommended or referred to.

"*A list of the works recommended by the professors of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth for the perusal of the students, or referred to by them in the course of their lectures.*"

The president explains the use which the professors make of these books, that they refer to them only on particular points which they are supposed to treat more at large or more correctly than the class-books. It will be perceived, therefore, from this, that the principles in these class-books, which the students are obliged to purchase, are treated more at large in those standards to which the professors refer.

"APPENDIX *No.* 67."

By the Professor of the Dunboyne Establishment.

Theology: —

Tournelly, Bailly, Du Voisin, Hook, Le Grand, Drouen, Collett, Deux Conferences d'Angers.

Canon Law: —

Van Espen, Devoti, Pichler Cavallario, Reiffensteuil.

CHURCH HISTORY: —

Fleury, Natalis, Alexander, Du Pin, Reeve.

By the Professor of Dogmatic Theology.

As Mr. Higgins has been at Maynooth but a few months, and has hitherto given lectures exclusively on the Treatise on Religion, the following are the only works which he has either quoted, or recommended, on the different questions which he has had occasion to discuss: —

Bailly, Du Voisin, Hook, Houteville, Lettres de quelques Juifs, &c., par Guenet; Lettres Provins. Philos., par Barruel; Dictionnaire Theologique de Bergier; Grotius; Clarke on the Existence of God and the Truth of the Christian Religion.

By the Professor of Moral Theology.

Les Conferences d'Angers, Les Conferences

de Paris, Le Continuateur de Towmelly, La Morale d'Antoine, La Morale du Noel Alexander.

By the Professor of Sacred Scripture.

On Genesis:—

Commentarii Pererii, Commentaires de Calmet, Commentaires de Chaires, Synopsis Criticorum Poli, L'Historie Universelle de Bossuet.

On the Gospels: —

Commentarii Cornelii à Lapide; Commentarii Maldonati, Meditationes, &c. de Bossuet, Bible d'Avignon.

On the Epistles: —

Commentarii Sanctæ Thomæ, Commentarii Estii, Commentarii Cornelii à Lapide, Analyse de Mandit, Bossuet.

On the Prolegomena: —

Dissertations de Calmet, Prolegomena Waltoni, Dissertatio Generalis Rennicott, De Verbo Dei, *Bellarminus.*

By the Professor of Logic, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy.

St. Thomas Aquinas (Secunda Secundæ), Hook de Religione, Bossuet's Discourse on Universal History; The Art of Thinking; Philosophical Works of Cicero; Clarke on

the Being and Attributes of God; Cartesius de Methodo; Malebranche's Search after Truth; Locke on the Understanding; Beattie on Truth; Reid on the Human Mind; Stuart's Philosophy of the Mind and Moral Philosophy; Blackstone's Commentaries; Paley's Natural Theology and Moral Philosophy. Some of the writers mentioned are noticed by the professor, when confuting the opinions maintained in their works.

By the Professor of Rhetoric.

Aristotle's Rhetoric, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero de Oratore, Dialogue on Oratory, Greek and Latin Orators, Rollin's Belles Lettres, Gilbert Le Jay, Fenelon, Maury, Massillon, Bourdeloue, Blair, Lord Kaim's Elements of Criticism, Burke on the Sublime, Addison on the Sources of the Beautiful and Sublime, Austin's Chironomy, Spalding, English Orators, British Classics.

By the Professor of Humanity.

Rollin's Ancient History, Rollin's Belles Lettres, Port Royal Greek and Latin Grammars.

By the Professor of English Rhetoric.

The Works of Johnson, Burke, Addison, Junius, Swift's Drapier's Letters, Gulliver's Travels; The Guardian, Tatler, Spectator, Adventurer, Mirror, Lounger, &c.; Freethink's Letters, Clio on Taste, Knox's Essays, Select Portions

of Pope, Milton, Dryden, and Goldsmith; and more particularly for the immediate subject of lecture, Blair's Lectures, Lawson on Oratory, Fenelon on Pulpit Eloquence, Rollin's Belles Lettres, Allison on Taste, M'Dermot on Taste, &c. For declamation (for such as do not compose their own pieces), the Sermons of Kirwan, Blair, Allison, approved Catholic Sermons, Massillon's Conferences (Translation of the Rev. C. Boylan).

Other books. For the use of the students in mathematics and natural philosophy, (as they are not allowed access to the public library,) a collection of works on those subjects has been kept in their Hall for many years past. They amount to more than one hundred, most of them in the English and French languages, some in Latin. The greater part are the property of the president; others were taken, with his permission, from the college library. When the late professor was leaving the college, he retained those works, but they are still forthcoming for the use of the students, should it be deemed more conducive to their improvement to allow them access to those works, than to confine them exclusively to their text-book — the Cambridge Course.

It may not be amiss to observe, that the students in general find abundance of employment in making themselves masters of the contents of their class-books; and that the shortness of the time allowed them for the study of theology will not admit of their reading the entire of the

works mentioned in the above catalogue. They refer to them only on particular points, which they are supposed to treat more at large or more correctly than the class-books.

December 30. 1826. B. CROTTY, President.

Such are the books returned by Dr. Crotty, the president of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. The following extracts explain the signal failure of the experiment that has been made, and throw some light upon the cause of those grievances that have long afflicted Ireland, and that must of necessity afflict every land where Popery struggles to get, or to maintain, her despotic ascendancy, over the minds, the fortunes, the lives, and the liberties of mankind; grievances resulting not from any principles and dogmas that are the accidental adjuncts of Popery, but inherent in the system, and forming essentially a part of it; as but too plainly appears from her bulls, her decrees and councils, her ethics, her divinity, and canon law. The spirit and principles of these books.

To take them in order, those passages shall first be cited which bear reference to the immoral tendency of Popery, as most calculated to destroy that confidence and good feeling which should exist among men, and that obedience and respect which every subject should render to the law. Next, the principles it inculcates, of sedition, disloyalty, and rebellion towards Protestant, *i. e.* heretical, princes and governments. Then—

that which to the christian mind is of the deepest concern, and far outweighs the importance of all other evils, and is the cause of them — that it is an antiscriptural system, abounding with impiety and blasphemy, from which the clear deduction will be, that the course of education pursued at Maynooth is, indeed —

1. Immoral.
2. Anti-social.
3. Disloyal.
4. Anti-scriptural.

We proceed to illustrate these positions, more in sorrow than in anger, actuated by no malignant feeling towards any man, but impressed with a deep sense of the heinous wickedness of the system, and the great responsibility they incur, who, either nationally or individually, participate *willingly* in the support of it.

As to theft. Take theft, for instance, a crime alike forbidden by laws human and divine, and see how far the instruction derived from the class-books and standards of Maynooth is consistent with either of them; or, indeed, with those opinions which prevail almost universally in those civilised countries where the contaminating influence of Popery is unknown; and the heart of man, though still corrupt, is free from that mental and moral obliquity which she inflicts upon her votaries.

The Divine Law. The Divine Law positively forbids all theft;

and so far from making those minute distinctions between venial and mortal sins, which the ingenuity of the Church of Rome has hit upon, condemns it alike, whether in a small or a large matter. Scripture, wherein the matter is viewed in the light which inspired wisdom sheds throughout every page, declares, that he who "offends in one point is guilty of all" — for the law is thereby broken, and the penalty of disobedience at once attaches.

But the following specimen of morality, from the Maynooth class-book, shall be at once given, without any further comment in reference to their absurdity or impiety.

In the second volume of *Bailly's Moral Theology*, which contains the treatise concerning the precepts of the Decalogue, and in chap. vii. p. 232., the question is proposed, —

Maynooth theology.

"How great must be the quantity of the thing stolen, in order to constitute the theft a mortal sin?

"*Answer.* The quantity cannot easily be determined, since nothing has been decided on this point, either in natural, divine, or human law. Some are of opinion that a quantity necessary for the maintenance of an individual for one day, in a manner suitable to his station in this world, is sufficient to make the theft a mortal sin. Others think that it requires a quantity which, everything considered, inflicts a grievous injury on our neighbour, and deprives him of something

particularly useful. A loss, however, which in respect of a rich man is slight, in respect of a poor man is considered heavy. The same quantity in all thefts cannot, therefore, be assigned as constituting the subject matter a mortal sin."

Theological distinctions. First rank.

"Hence, theologians are accustomed to distinguish men into four ranks. The first rank consists of the illustrious, who live in splendour;

Second rank.

the second, of those who live on their own estates, but not so splendidly — such as are moderately

Third rank.

rich; the third, of artificers, who support themselves by their own labour and handicraft; the

Fourth rank.

fourth, of the poor, who provide for themselves by begging. It is generally laid down, and it may be laid down as determined, that in order to a theft's being a mortal sin, when committed on persons of the first rank, *fifty or sixty pence* are sufficient. In fact, this appears to be a sufficent sum with reference to all men, even princes; because this sum of money is considerable in itself, and might be of service to princes, since it would be sufficient for the pay of several soldiers for one day. With respect to persons of the second rank, *forty pence* are enough. With respect to persons of the third rank, if their trade be a very lucrative one, *twenty pence;* if less lucrative, *ten pence.* With respect to persons of the fourth rank (i.e. paupers), *four pence*, or even *one penny, if they have nothing else to live on.*

This division inadequate.

"But there is no one who does not perceive that the division mentioned above is very inade-

quate. How great a difference is there among artificers? How many live on their own estates who are more straitened than some merchants, and to whom a theft of the same sum would be a greater loss than to merchants, who are richer than they? Hence we do not give the aforesaid rule as a thing on which you can rely with certainty, but it is *good*, as being something to *guide confessors*, taking all circumstances prudently into consideration."

How execrable is the morality of these instructions! The great standard of righteousness is wholly excluded, and the wretched sophistry of the schools occupies its place.

As to oaths and promises.

But, passing from this subject, which, in the minds of some, may be thought utterly trifling and insignificant, the subject of oaths shall be considered, — a subject which no man regarding the sanctity of an oath — oftentimes the only guarantee for the faithful performance of a trust, and the confidence which it should at all times engender between man and man — can view in any other light than that of paramount importance to the moral and social well-being of men, a right discharge of public and private duties, and the integrity of empires.

The end for which oaths are taken or required is thereby perverted.

"An oath of confirmation" was intended to be "an end of all strife." Its object was to give an additional security to him for whose benefit it was taken; but in this, as in many other instances, the Church of Rome has woven such a

web of sophistries, — has introduced such subtleties and refinements, — as to make it defeat the very end for which it was called into use; and, instead of providing an additional security to him for whose benefit it may be imposed, has made it subservient to the grossest fraud, imposition, and impiety; an instrument whereby the artful and unprincipled, or those principled after Popish morality, may evade almost every engagement, and balk the confidence of their simple and confiding victims, who, intending no deception themselves, suspected it not in others. The history of the past is full of this — while our own times supply but too abundant an illustration. It will be seen clearly, from the quotation given below, that in this *Popish college*, supported by *Protestant gold*, the candidates for the priesthood are trained in a system of awful perjury — a system that opens the door of escape from every obligation, however binding — from every oath, however sacred — and from every compact, however solemnly entered into, when taken or incurred for the benefit of a heretic — or indeed on every occasion when the non-observance may minister to purposes of ecclesiastical utility. The whole system is corrupt: it is not only oaths made with heretics that are void; but a variety of causes may arise, even among the faithful, which may either prevent or remove the obligation of an oath. And here, again, the class-book of Maynooth is of direct authority.

In *Bailly's Moral Theology*, vol. ii. p. 117., is the following proposition: — "*A promissory oath obliges, under the penalty of mortal sin, to do that which is promised in the oath — unless a legitimate cause excuses.*" At page 119. there is a chapter with this title — "*Of the causes which prevent or take away the obligation of an oath*" — on which it will be observed, that some causes prevent an oath from imposing any obligation; so that though a person takes an oath, yet he never was bound to keep it. Some causes, again, take away the obligation after it has been imposed; so that a man is bound by the oath after he takes it, but then some cause arises which delivers him from the obligation. Now there are seven causes enumerated that prevent an oath from imposing any obligation. Some of these are just and right, as, for instance, the defect of liberty — that is, that a person has no right to take an oath: a child has no right to take an oath to do a thing which his parent will not allow him to do. A third cause mentioned here is the hindering of a greater good which is opposed to the thing promised by the oath. So that if a man takes an oath, and then there is some greater good that might result if he had not taken the oath, the oath involves no obligation at all. The word of God says, "He that sweareth to his neighbour and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance:" — the Church of Rome says, "The hindering of a greater good prevents the

Causes which prevent or remove the obligation of an oath.

obligation of an oath. The seventh cause excusing from the obligation of an oath is the limitation — either expressed, or even tacitly and silently understood — of the intention of the swearer. For in every oath certain general conditions are, from justice and use, included. One of them is, unless you accept, unless you remit; another is, *salvo jure alieno* — that is, saving the right of another." Every Roman Catholic must take the oath — saving the right of his superior — saving the right of the Pope, of his bishop, or his priest.

Prohibition of superiors.

Again: There are five causes that take away the obligation of an oath after the oath has imposed an obligation: one of them is, "if the thing sworn becomes impossible, or *unlawful on account of the prohibition of any superior*, illicita ob superioris *prohibitionem*." So that if a man takes an oath, and then his superior is pleased to prohibit the observance of it, according to the Church of Rome, the obligation of the oath is entirely taken away.

The fourth cause is, "the making void of the oath by him to whom the person of the swearer or the matter of the oath is subject." See how this is illustrated. "*Thus the superior (that is, the general) of all the orders of the monks can validly, even without cause, make void the oaths of all his subjects.*". Dr. Anglade, Professor of Divinity, is asked, in the Report of the Commissioners (Appendix 24. p. 170.), "Where does the general of the Franciscans live? — I

Superiors of Franciscans,

think in Rome." "Where does the general of the Dominicans live? — At Rome, I believe." "Where does the general of the Augustinians live? — I think at Rome." "Where does the general of the Jesuits live? — I think at Rome." We have here, on the oath of this man, that the superior of these orders of monks — every one of them — resides at Rome. So, while monks are spreading themselves through every quarter of the country, a man residing at Rome can make void with a word — lawfully make void, as they assert — every oath of allegiance, or every other oath, which all the monks in the British empire take to their Sovereign or their fellow-man.

Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, reside at Rome.

The next cause is a dispensation or commutation made by the superior. St. Thomas says, there are four cases in which an oath, accepted by another, can be made void without the consent of that other; that is, you take an oath to your neighbour, and he believes you intend to do what you swear: but, according to St. Thomas, there are four cases in which it can be made void: one is, "when there is any doubt whatever whether the oath was valid or not valid, lawful or unlawful; another is, when the public good is concerned, which ought always to be preferred to private good." Now what possible security can a man have for the preservation of any oath which may be prevented from imposing any obligation, or the obligation of which may

Dispensation by the superior.

be totally taken away by such casualties as these? But there is another point of view in which the case is presented in the next head that comes under examination, which is the power of dispensation in the hands of their superiors. Any promissory oath is taken with this tacit condition that must be reserved in the mind of the swearer, viz. *saving the right of my superior.*" Now, what is the right that this superior can exercise over him? In the chapter on dispensations, which is headed as follows (p. 140.): — "*There exists in the Church a power of dispensing with vows and oaths,*" it is asked (p. 145.), "What may be just causes of dispensation from vows?" and vows and oaths are said to be the same. The answer, in Bailly, to this is, —

First, The honour of God.

Second, the utility of the Church. So that if it should be useful to the Church that an oath should be dispensed with, that is a just cause for granting a dispensation from an oath. Other causes are, thirdly, the common good of the republic or society; fourthly, the spiritual utility of the person that vows or swears; fifthly, the moral danger of violating an oath from frailty; sixthly, lightness or levity of mind; seventhly, perturbation of mind; eighthly, fear under which the vow or oath was made; ninthly, any notable difficulty supervening of carrying it into execution; tenthly, any doubt of the validity of an oath; *and any other sort of case which may generally*

be reduced to piety, spiritual utility, or necessity. So that whatsoever any priest or bishop chooses to reduce to the head of piety, spiritual utility, or necessity, is an ample cause for his granting a dispensation from any oath that a Roman Catholic can take. This is a class-book in the College of Maynooth, which every individual in that college is obliged to have in his possession. One of the standards of that college — the *Secunda Secundæ* of St Thomas Aquinas, their "best book on ethics" (Quest. 89. Art. 9.), contains the following passage: —

"Sometimes something is promised by an oath in which it is doubtful whether it may be lawful or unlawful, profitable or injurious, either simply, or in any particular case; and in this any bishop can grant a dispensation."

"But sometimes something is promised under an oath which is manifestly lawful and useful, and in such an oath there seems to be no place for dispensation or commutation, unless something better occurs to be done for the common utility, which seems chiefly to belong to the power of the Pope, who has the care of the universal church, or even an absolute relaxation, which also belongs to the Pope generally in all things which appertain to the dispensation of ecclesastical affairs, over which he possesses a plenitude of power; as also it belongs to every person to make void an oath which is taken by those who are subject to him concerning

The Pope's dispensing power.

those things which are placed under his power." So that there is no possible oath which a man could take that is not declared to be under the power of the Pope, and which the Pope cannot dispense with at his own good pleasure whenever he likes.

Dr. Anglade. On this subject, Dr. Anglade, the professor of moral theology at Maynooth, was examined before the committee in 1827*, and answers the following questions put to him by the committee:—

Potestas dispensandi. "In page 140. of the class-book *De Præceptis Decalogi*, the commissioners find this proposition generally laid down in these words: '*Propositio; existet in Ecclesia potestas dispensandi in votis et juramentis.*' Will you construe that proposition?"—"There is in the Church a power of dispensing in vows and oaths."

"Immediately following the proposition are these words:—'This is proved, first, from the scripture (Matthew, xviii.),—"Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven;"' and it is added,—'These words, inasmuch as they are general, do not only signify the power of loosing the obligations of sins, but also of vows and of oaths.' Is not that a correct translation?"—"Quite so."

"Is it meant distinctly, by that position, that the word '*solveritis*' there intimates a power conveyed by Christ to absolve from oaths?"—"I think so, in the position."

* Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry. Appendix No. 24., p. 171.

"Is that your own opinion?"—"There are two opinions amongst the divines: we acknowledge in the Church the power of dispensing in oaths and vows. Some divines are of the opinion that is stated here: some others say that the dispensing power of the Church does not amount to more than a mere interpretation of the oath or vow; that it is a *declaratoria potestas*, or the power of declaring in certain cases—that, considering the circumstances of the subject who has made the vow, and the circumstances in which he has made it, and the object of that vow; in that case, in the opinion of the Church, the person is not bound by such a vow. Those divines say that the Church has not the power of *annihilating* that vow or that oath, but only of *explaining* that, in such circumstances, neither the vow nor the oath induces an obligation." *Declaratoria potestas.*

"Does not it come exactly to the same thing, that the person who has taken the oath is not obliged to observe it?"—"As to him it is the same, but as to the Church it is very different; because in one case it takes off the obligation by its own power, in the other it supposes the obligation of the vow, but supposes that, in that circumstance, that obligation does not bind."

"Is it not, also, exactly the same thing in the result, to the person for whose benefit the oath was taken, whether the person taking the oath get rid of it in the shape of a declaration, or in

the shape of annihilating the obligation?"—"It comes to the same."

Thus it will be perceived, that, either by exercising its power of *dispensing* in vows and oaths, or that *declaratoria potestas* here spoken of, the Church of Rome may set free the consciences of her votaries from the obligation of the oath imposed, and deprive those, for whose benefit it was taken, of the security it was intended to afford.

In the *Corpus Juris* CANONICI, a work which, on the testimony of the Professor of Canon Law in the College of Maynooth, contains the canon law, or common law of the Church of Rome, is the following: —

"When, therefore, you are held to be faithful to the Roman Church, if you shall think that you take an oath contrary to that given as due to us, you shall consider it as unlawful, and you shall do (notwithstanding the unlawful oath) that which is lawfully, nay, as a debt, demanded from you; or if the one already given (viz. to the Church) is not contrary to the one to be given, you shall give it without difficulty."

So that the *conscience* of the Papist may be relieved from his responsibility to God by the *ipse dixit* of a superior of his church! He is not to be bound by his oath, however solemnly ratified and absolutely made, provided it vitiates his obligation to "The Church;" in other words, is contrary to the interests of Popery, or the wishes of his superior.

Another of the standards of the College of Maynooth is the work of Antoine. He quotes the celebrated passage from the 16th canon of the third Lateran council: — "*Those are not to be called oaths, but rather perjuries, which are taken contrary to ecclesiastical utility and the institutions of the Fathers.*" (Vol iii. p. 79.)

In Reiffenstuel, another standard, lib. ii. *Decretal*, tit. 24., *de Jure Jurando*, the following exposition as to the doctrines and construction of oaths is given: — "In every promissory oath, *however absolutely made*, certain tacit conditions are understood." Now of these conditions, which are tacitly reserved in the swearer's mind, one is this: — "*Salvo jure et authoritate superioris;*" that is, "saving the right and authority of my superior, *where an oath is considered unlawful, and cannot be kept, which cannot be kept saving the honour of the apostolic see.*" So that no oath is to be kept by a Roman Catholic in which the honour of the apostolic see is not preserved. Then there is the great question so often imputed to the Church of Rome, and which they have so continually denied, whether faith is to be kept with heretics? This is asked and answered in Reiffenstuel. It occurs in the fifth book of his *Decretals*, tit. 7., *de Hæreticis* quest., sixth head: — "Are vassals and servants and others freed from any private obligation due to a heretic, and from keeping faith with him? *Answer.* — Yes. All are so by the clear

Reiffenstuel.

Heretics.

disposal of the law." He quotes for this the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, C. fin. h. T.: — "ABSOLUTOS — *They may have known that they are freed from the debt of fidelity and of all obedience to man, whosoever remain bound by any sort of covenant, though fortified by any kind of affirmation whatsoever, to those who are manifestly lapsed into heresy;*" where the gloss on the word *Absolutus* well observes, that this punishment is incurred *ipso facto*, so that no declaratory sentence is required if the heresy is manifest. It is inferred also — "*That he who owes any thing to a heretic, by means of purchase, promise, exchange, pledge, deposit, loan, or any other contract, is* IPSO FACTO *free from the obligation, and is not bound to keep his promise, bargain, or contract, or his plighted faith, even though sworn, to a heretic.*"

These extracts have been taken from the class-books of Maynooth, from the standard canon law, and the ethical theology of Maynooth, as returned by the professors and the president himself to the British Parliament which supports that college. Thus, Reiffenstuel quotes a canon law which declares that all public oaths taken by any man whatsoever in any public capacity are totally null and void, when taken contrary to the utility and interests of the Church. A practical remark here is important. The interests of the Protestant Established Church were protected, as it was said, by a Papal oath, when the Roman Catholics were

granted political power; a public parliamentary return, made on the motion of the Bishop of Exeter, from the Bishop of Malta to the Secretary of the Colonies, declares that the oath by which the established religion was to be protected, and in which, as is the case in every oath, the right of the superior must be tacitly reserved by him who swears — that this oath IS DECLARED TO BE NOT APPROVED BY THE POPE. An instance wherein the *practice* is so consonant with the *precept*, that to the minds of the least observant it would suggest something very similar to cause and effect. Bishop of Malta.

Again, in *Reiffenstuel*, lib. 2. Decretal, tit. 24., *De Jure Jurando*, is the following, which will tend more fully to illustrate the infamous maxims and spurious morality inculcated by the standards of Maynooth.

"No. 81. It is demanded in the third place, whether, and how far, an obligation is imposed by an oath of keeping the statutes, capitulations, or customs of any church or community, when any things are contained in them which are unlawful, or which verge to the prejudice of the church or dignity, to which the person who takes the oath is promoted."

"We answer, first, a general oath of observing the statutes, capitulations, or customs of any church or community, *obliges only to observe things* lawful, possible, *and not prejudicial to the liberty of the Church:* such is the common opinion;

Oaths taken by lay officials.

and it is expressly decided, in the first chapter, by declaring that those oaths which are accustomed to be taken by powers, rulers, and lay officials, in the beginning of their office, and which sometimes contain things unlawful and prejudicial to ecclesiastical immunity, ought to be observed only as to those things that are lawful, since, as to other things, they cannot be observed without an offence against the Divine Majesty; and an oath cannot be the bond of iniquity, because that which is useful ought not to be vitiated by that which is not useful, according to Rule 38. Jur. in 6.; hence oaths of this sort only impose an obligation as to points that are lawful."

Apply this principle to the oaths taken by Popish Members of Parliament, and it will be seen at once, that, so far from being securities to the constitution and ecclesiastical establishments of the country, they actually impose no *obligation whatever* upon the consciences of the members of the communion of Rome.

Again, in the canon law is the following: —

"We declare, also, that oaths in general of this sort, *of whatever kind they be, and in whatsoever form of words set forth,* or to be set forth, are only to be extended to things lawful, possible, and not obstructive of ecclesiastical liberty; and that those who swear them *are not bound to any thing else by taking an oath of this sort.*"

And in the 16th canon of the third Lateran council is this:—

"*Oaths taken contrary to ecclesiastical utility are not to be accounted oaths, but perjuries.*"

So that it is morally impossible to frame an oath capable of binding the conscience of a Romanist, since what is or what is not contrary to ecclesiastical utility is left to the decision of the superiors of the Church. The phrase "contrary to ecclesiastical utility" is one of those ductile comprehensive generalities so peculiar to Romish divinity, which enables its votaries to perpetrate any enormity, and omit the clearest duty, under the mask of zeal for "the Church," and the plea of a "doubting conscience."*

Enough has now been said, and extracts sufficiently numerous and authoritative have been given, to bear out the assertion, that the principles disseminated, by the course of instruction in this college, are those of an immoral nature — inducing, of necessity, some of the worst evils upon society, and sapping the very foundations of probity and good faith; leading away the mind from the contemplation of theft as an infraction of the divine law, and making its guilt to depend, not upon the dereliction of principle in the thief, but the relative position, the wealth or poverty, of the parties — a criterion at all times variable and uncertain, and the

* Church of England Quarterly Review, July, 1839, p. 42.

establishment of *which* must tend yet more to lower or destroy, in the corrupt heart of man, the moral sense of what is right and wrong, and the entireness and purity of the divine requirement, which, looking upon that as wrong which is the first step towards it, regards the motive as well as the conduct, and forbids alike the covetous thought and the dishonest action; — sophisticating the truth — modelling the conscience by a crooked and *corrupted* standard — deadening it to that refined sense of honour which is the characteristic of a noble mind and genuine religion, and weakening that bond of truth, which, like a zone, girds round and holds together the fabric and elements of society.

Anti-social principles.

Dismissing, then, for the present, any further observations upon this point, it follows, that the antisocial, intolerant, and persecuting principles taught at Maynooth, be next adverted to; — principles inconsistent with individual safety, or the integrity of empires — principles which the Church of Rome, in an enlightened age and a Protestant country, would keep in abeyance or disclaim; that so Protestants might be lulled to security, and admit her, under the modified form she would assume, to those rights and privileges which, appearing in her real form and nature, she could never have acquired.

Baptism gives the

As the supreme head of the Church on earth, the Pope claims a jurisdiction co-extensive with the dissemination of Christianity. All who have

been baptized are brought within the pale of the Church, and, whether obedient or refractory, made subjects of the Roman Pontiff, to be held in his esteem and favour, if obedient, or, if refractory and disobedient, to be chastised and punished; to be precluded from all participation in the blessings which religion confers in this life, and to be anathematised and doomed to utter destruction hereafter. Baptism is necessary to make a man a Christian: over all such the Pope claims control: by whom that sacrament may have been administered, the Church of Rome deems immaterial — baptism even by heretics is allowed to be valid. Pope jurisdiction.

There is a treatise on this subject in Bailly, vol. v. p. 62., wherein this proposition is laid down: that "*Any traveller, even a layman, or a woman, or a heretic, or even an unbaptized infidel, can baptize validly, nay lawfully, in cases of necessity.*" And as to heretical baptism, he says as follows: —

"*Of heretics now nothing remains to be said, since in our treatise on the sacraments in general, we have demonstrated by many arguments that the sacrament of baptism is truly administered by them.*"

From which the following inference is drawn in the article on laws in Bailly — still a class-book (vol. i. p. 179.): —

"*Hence heretics are bound by the ecclesiastical law, because by baptism they* are made the sub-

jects of the Church; nor are they more delivered from her laws than subjects who rebel against their princes."

Thus, by baptism, all are made subjects of the Church, and can no more shake off her authority than rebellious subjects can shake off the authority of their rulers. There is another class-book,

Delahogue.

Delahogue's, in which is the same principle. In his *Tractatus de Ecclesia*, p. 404., he says, —

"*The Church retains her jurisdiction over all apostates, heretics, and schismatics, though they do not now belong to her body, as the leader of an army has a right to punish the deserter, although his name be not upon the roll.*"

In another of the standards of Maynooth, recommended by the professors, called *Deux Conferences D'Angers*, it is said, on this subject, — "If heretics could escape the obligation, it would be either because they had ceased to be of the Church, i. e. that they had broken off the yoke, or lived in a country where this authority was not recognised, and where custom had abrogated ecclesiastical law. As to the first reason" (that is, having broken off the yoke of authority), "it can have no weight — they are no longer *de facto* confessedly members of the body of the Church, but they are all members *de jure*,— by right,— because the Church, after their revolt, preserves all her rights over them, in the same way that a master preserves his right over his runaway slaves, and a sovereign over his

rebellious subjects. The second reason can no longer be pleaded—the Church has no particular territory, her empire has no bounds but those of the universe, and it comprehends even those places where her authority is not recognised; in short, a custom contrary to this, introduced into places where heretical sects are dominant, can in no way impeach the authority of ecclesiastical law. For it is a fixed principle, that custom cannot derogate from law without the consent, at least presupposed, of the lawgiver; and it is not by any means probable that the Church would sanction a custom which is only founded upon the contempt in which heretics hold her commands, and their revolt from her authority. This reflection conducts us naturally to the decision of the second part of this question; and we must thence conclude that the intention of the Church is never to exempt heretics from those laws which she has made to ensure the universal good of the Church."—*Deux Conferences D'Angers*, tom. ii. sur les Loix, p. 15.

Then Antoine (this is another of the standards) asks, chapter third, in his *Tractatus de Virtutibus*, "Can unbelievers be compelled to return to the faith? *It is certain that baptized infidels, whether heretics or apostates, can be compelled to return to the faith, and keep the ecclesiastical law, whether baptized in their infancy or baptized from compulsion and fear in their adult ages;*" so that if a man were, by com- Antoine.

pulsion, by force, obliged to be baptized, that brings him under the authority of the Church, and the Church can compel him to return. *Collet,* another of their standards, has the very same sentiment. "You will ask whether a heretic is punishable by the Church, who, though he has been baptized, has never received the true faith? So, if an infidel in London becomes a Christian, and is imbued with the errors of the English, what is to be his fate? We answer, Most certainly, he is punishable by the Church; and this appears from the constant practice of the Church, who teaches that all those who have been baptized — all those who entertain errors contrary to this faith, whether they have held them from the beginning or not, are bound under excommunication and the other punishments that she declares against them." These punishments he details in the next page as follows, tom. v. p. 396.: —

Punishments against heretics.

"Punishments against heretics are of two sorts — some temporal, viz. the confiscation of their goods, infamy and incapacity for honours, and all offices proceeding from that; the punishment of exile, imprisonment, and death itself, about which consult the title *De Hæreticis* in civil and ecclesiastical law." Here the standard of Maynooth refers with confidence to the canon law as authorising the principles it teaches on the subject. Such are the sentiments of Collet in his *Treatise on the Decalogue.*

We now come to Thomas Aquinas; and the Professor of Ethics in the College of Maynooth says, that the *Treatise* of Thomas Aquinas is the best system of ethics to be found. The question is (Quest. xi. art. 3.), whether heretics are to be tolerated? On this he says, "About heretics two things are to be considered; one thing on the part of themselves, the other on the part of the Church. On the part of themselves is the sin by which they deserve not only to be separated from the Church, but even to be shut out of the world by death; for it is much more grievous to corrupt the faith by which the life of the soul is saved, than to forge money by which temporal life is supported; wherefore, as the forgers of money and other malefactors are immediately delivered by secular princes to death, much more heretics, from the time they are convicted of their heresy, can not only be excommunicated, *but justly slain.* On the part of the Church there is pity for the conversion of those that are in error — *and therefore she does not immediately condemn, but after the first or second admonition; and lastly, if the heretic be still found pertinacious, the Church, no longer hoping for his conversion, proceeds, for the safety of the others, to separate him from the Church by a sentence of excommunication, and then leaves him to the secular tribunal, to be exterminated from the world by death.*" St. Thomas Aquinas.

Having examined the ethics of the College of Cornelius à Lapide.

Maynooth, we now come to her standards of divinity. Is there any thing in them on the subject of putting heretics to death? Here *Cornelius à Lapide*, one of the most valuable commentaries to be found in the college, says, in his commentary on the 13th chapter of Matthew, on that important parable, the wheat growing together with the tares until the harvest,—

"From this place (ver. 29.), where Christ forbade those tares to be torn up, but directed that they should be allowed to grow together with the wheat, the broachers of new doctrines vainly infer that heretics are not to be punished and cut off; because by parity of reasoning they might infer, from the same place, that homicides and thieves are not to be cut off, for they also are tares. I say Christ, in this passage, does not forbid that they should he torn up, but that no one should pull them up without distinction, nor at the time when they cannot be distinguished from the wheat, or when there is a danger of the wheat being plucked up along with them, as Christ himself explains it, verse 29. This does not apply when any one is manifestly a heretic, and especially if he dogmatise, that is, put forth his opinions, and infect others with his heresy: for such a person injures the faithful and the Church more severely than a homicide; for the one kills the body, but the other the soul. See 1 Cor. v. 13., Galatians v. 12., where the apostle

orders that impious persons, especially false teachers, shall be removed and cut off."

Turn to his commentary on this passage in Corinthians, to which he refers; it is as follows:—

"You will say, if we cannot judge those who are without, then the Church cannot judge and punish heretics and schismatics, for these are *without*, i. e. out of the Church. Answer.—That those are out of the Church, because they are deprived of the advantages of the Church; yet they are *within*, because they are subject to its jurisdiction; for by this very fact, that they retain the character of baptism, they remain by their first profession united, bound, and subject to the Church, whence they are bound by the fasts, feasts, and other laws of the Church; and they are in the Church, as slaves are in a family, and imprisoned criminals in a city." Such is civil and religious liberty, as taught in the College of Maynooth! In Menochius, a class-book, printed for Maynooth, in Dublin, the commentary on the same text is as follows:— Menochius.

"'Lest while we gather the tares, &c.'—Lest you injure the good, while you endeavour to eradicate the bad; add that those who are tares and bad, sometimes become good. Christ does not forbid heretics to be taken away and put to death; on which subject Maldonatus is to be consulted in this place." Here, then, is Menochius, the class-book, referring to Maldonatus, Menochius refers to Maldonatus.

the standard, in which the subject is treated more at large, as the president informs us in the Report of the Commissioners.

In the Commentary of Maldonatus, on Matt. xiii. 16., is the following: —

"There are some who abuse this place by trying to prove that heretics are not to be punished or put to death, which they who do, seem to me to be anxious about themselves. First, indeed, it does not refer only to heretics, but to men who are children of the devil, as opposed to the children of the kingdom, among whom heretics are the chief species, but not the only kind. Therefore they who deny that heretics are to be put to death, ought much rather to deny that thieves, much rather that murderers, ought to be put to death; for heretics are so much the more pernicious than thieves and murderers, as it is a greater crime to steal and slay the souls of men than their bodies.

"Therefore almost all the ancient authors, as Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine, interpret this of heretics, not because they are the only tares, but because they are most especially so. Besides, although heretics alone are understood, nevertheless the father of the family does not absolutely prohibit the tares to be rooted out, but only lest the wheat should be rooted out along with them: for then, according to his opinion and will, they are not to be rooted out when there is any danger, lest the wheat be

plucked up with them, as the divine Augustine and the divine Thomas, that greatest of theologians, has observed." (*Secunda Secundæ*, qu. 10. art. 8. ad. 1.; et qu. 11. art. 3. ad. 3.) "When, therefore, there is no danger that the wheat be rooted out along with them, but there is rather danger lest if they be not plucked up they may injure the wheat, what need is there to wait for the harvest — *they are quickly to be plucked up, they are quickly to be burned.* Besides, why is there danger lest the wheat be rooted up with the tares? — or why does the father of the family order to wait for the harvest, unless that before the harvest they cannot be distinguished and separated from the wheat? When, therefore, they *can* be distinguished and separated, undoubtedly they *are to be* separated — undoubtedly to be burned. The Lord warns us before (saith Jerome), that when there is anything doubtful we should not quickly pronounce our judgment, but reserve the end for God, as the Judge, that when the day of judgment shall have arrived he may banish from the assembly of his saints, not the suspicion of crime, but manifest guilt.

When the tares may be burned.

"Who hath not known the Calvinists and Lutherans? Who does not see that they are heretics who have revived almost every ancient heresy? Truly there never was a heretic, there never can be a heretic, if they are not heretics.

Calvinists and Lutherans are heretics.

"'But they are quiet.' Who were ever more

turbulent? Who have ever excited so many wars? Who have ever used such cruelty, or poured out so much human blood?

"Nor do I say these things on this account, that I would not rather they should be converted than put to death; but only I warn princes, or (because princes are not likely to read those things), I warn those who ought to admonish princes, that it is not lawful for them to grant to heretics *those liberties which they call of conscience*, and which are too much used in our day.*

* How congenial must this be to the writers of the letter from which the following extract is given! "The divine St. Thomas," indeed, "that greatest of theologians," was not without some sagacity recommended by the cardinal prefect of the college at Rome. He, and Pope Gregory XVI., alike approve, it seems, of that work; and between the contents of this epistle and the observations of St. Thomas there is a marvellous and an ominous congruity. When Popery is applauded in England for the *liberality of her principles*, let those who are truly liberal dispel that delusion by reading, among others, the "*Encyclical letter of our most holy father* POPE GREGORY, *by Divine Providence the sixteenth of the name, addressed to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops.*"

"From this polluted fountain of 'indifference' flows that absurd and erroneous doctrine, or rather *raving in favour* and in *defence of* '*liberty of conscience*,' for which *most pestilential error* the course is opened by that entire and wild *liberty of opinion*, which is every where attempting the overthrow of religious and civil institutions; and which the unblushing impudence of some has held forth

Unless first the Church, or he who is the
l of the Church, the Roman pontiff, the

ı advantage to religion. 'But what,' exclaimed St.
ıstine, 'what worse death to the soul than freedom
ror? for only destroy those fences which keep men
n the paths of truth, leave them to the headlong sway
eir natural evil propensities, and the 'bottomless pit'
ıce yawns before you, from which St. John saw the
e arise, which darkened the sun, and which shed its lo-
over the face of the earth. For hence arise these revolu-
in the minds of men; hence this aggravated corrup-
of youth; hence this contempt among the people of
l things, and of the most holy institutions and laws;
, in one word, that pest of all others most to be dreaded
state — unbridled *liberty of opinion, licentiousness of*
ı, and a lust of novelty, which, according to the expe-
e of all ages, portend the downfal of the most power-
nd flourishing empires." * This epistle is dated,
e, from St. Mary Majors, August the 15th, the festival
e Assumption of the same Blessed Virgin Mary, the
of our Lord 1832, of our Pontificate the second.

The pontiff had not far to go for the original of this
re. It is no secret, that in the source and centre of
ry, there is far less belief of its doctrines, or submis-
o its discipline, than at certain distances from it. *Omne*
um, pro magnifico; — sight and knowledge dissipate the
on. Popery is flourishing and increasing in England,
and, Ireland, and the New World; while Italians
refuge from the palpable and revolting mockeries
h they behold, in the dreary *abyss of irreligion* or *sen-*
y, or both. (Note of editor of the *Protestant Journal*,
, p. 74.)

person of Christ, and as it were the father of the family, shall have judged that the tares cannot be rooted out unless the wheat be plucked up along with them, and that it is for the interest of the Church that both be permitted to grow together to the harvest.

"For the judgment of this matter does not belong to princes, who are the *servants* of the father of the family, but to the father of the family himself, that is, the governor of the church.

"Nor ought princes to ask the father of the family that he would permit both to grow together to the harvest; but whether it was his will that they should go and root up the tares; for they should be so affected, and so ready, that it should be rather necessary that they should be *restrained* than urged on by the father of the family."—*Maldonatus*, p. 288.

This is the standard of the College of Maynooth that is referred to as the authority on this text by the class-book of the College of Maynooth, which every student is obliged to buy and have in his possession. Another passage in the commentary of *Cornelius à Lapide*, on the 3d chapter of Titus, is also worthy of observation; and he quotes Bellarmine as authority on the subject of the power of the Church to put heretics to death. Thus one standard of Maynooth, Cornelius à Lapide, refers to another standard of Maynooth, Bellarmine; and both

Bellarmine.

are returned as standards by the president of the college.

The title to the 21st chapter, book iii., is the following:—"*That heretics can be condemned by the Church to temporal punishments, and even be punished with death.*" Heretics may be put to death.

This he proves by various authorities:—First, by *scripture;* secondly, by the laws of emperors; thirdly, by the laws of the Church; fourthly, by the testimony of Fathers; fifthly, by *reason.* Of the authorities adduced from reason, the following instances are given from Bellarmine; and what was reason with the Church of Rome when Bellarmine wrote is so now. No march of intellect has removed these noxious principles from her, nor any refinement softened her asperity towards heretics.

"It is proved, in the last place, by natural reason. First, heretics may be justly excommunicated, as all acknowledge, and *therefore* may be put to death. The consequence is proved, because excommunication is a *greater punishment* than *temporal* death. *August.* lib. i. contra advers. legis et prophetarum (c. 17.), says, that it is more dreadful to be delivered over to Satan by excommunication, than to be struck with the sword, consumed by fire, or thrown to wild beasts to be devoured. Proof from natural reason.

"Secondly, experience teaches us that *there is no other remedy;* for the Church has advanced by degrees, and tried every remedy. At first From experience.

she only excommunicated; then she added fines in money; then exile; at last she was compelled to have recourse to death; for heretics despise excommunication, and say that it is a *brutum fulmen.* If you threaten them with pecuniary fines, they neither fear God nor regard man; well knowing that fools will not be wanting who will believe them, and by whom they will be supported. If you throw them into prison, or send them into exile, they corrupt their neighbours by their language, and those who are at a distance by their books, *therefore* the *only* remedy is, *to send them speedily* TO THEIR PROPER PLACE.

Proof from analogy.

"Thirdly, Forgers are deserving of death in the opinion of all men; but heretics are forgers of the word of God.

"Fourthly, According to the reasoning of Augustine (Ep. 50.), it is a greater crime for a man to break his faith to God, than a woman to a man. Now the latter is punished with death; why not the former?

"Fifthly, There are three causes for which reason teaches that men should be put to death, which Galen well describes in his book, about the end of the work.

"The first cause is that the bad may not injure the good, nor the innocent be oppressed by the guilty; and hence most justly, in the opinion of all men, murderers, adulterers, and robbers are put to death. The second is, that by the

punishment of a few many may be corrected, and those who would not serve the commonwealth by their life, may benefit it by their death; and hence we see also that most justly, in the opinion of all, some horrid crimes are punished with death, though they may not injure those who are nearest to them, except, by example, as necromancy, and some shocking things, and contrary to nature: these, therefore, are most severely punished, that others may understand that they are fearful crimes, and may not dare to perpetrate similar offences. The third is, because it is often useful to the condemned themselves to be put to death, since, indeed, they always become worse, and it is not probable that they will ever return to a sound mind.

Heretics worse than pirates.

"Now all these reasons convince us that heretics are to be put to death; for, first, they injure those who come in contact with them more than any pirate or robber, since they kill souls, nay, take away the foundation of every good thing, and fill the commonwealth with tumults, which necessarily follow diversity of religion. In the next place, their punishment benefits a great number; for many, whom impunity was rendering torpid, are roused by the threat of punishment, to consider what kind of a heresy it is which they follow, and to take care lest perchance they might miserably terminate their present life, and never arrive at eternal bliss. Therefore, also, Augustine (Ep. 48.)

testifies that many were converted after the laws of the emperors permitted not heretics to pass unpunished, *and we daily see the same effect in places where the Inquisition flourishes.*

Kindness to kill heretics.

"Finally, it is an *act of kindness* to obstinate heretics to take them out of this life; for the longer they live the more errors they invent, the more men do they pervert, and the greater damnation *do they acquire unto themselves.*"*

Pleas of heretics answered.

In the next chapter Bellarmine introduces heretics pleading for themselves; and although they advanced no fewer than eighteen reasons why they should not be put to death, the Cardinal, nevertheless, undertakes to find answers to them all. The tenth plea which he supposes the heretic to urge in his own defence against being put to death, is this very parable of the wheat and tares. The Lord says, "Let both grow together till the harvest;" therefore the heretic pleads that he is not to be rooted

* Thus she, the Church of Rome, excludes all from salvation who are out of the pale of her church; she first makes them *heretics*, and then makes it *lawful* to kill them. She says that, being heretics, the longer they live the more their bad example may operate to contaminate or mislead the faithful; and the greater weight of guilt they accumulate upon themselves, and the greater amount of punishment will follow; and then, to prevent this accumulation of guilt and misery, she calls it *charity* to slay them! Truly, "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel."

"They shall put you out of the synagogue; yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service."—*St. John*, xvi. 2.

out. To this the Cardinal replies, "I answer, by the name of tares, not only heretics are understood, but all wicked men, as appears from our Lord's own explanation, for he says, '*The good seed are the children of the kingdom, but the tares are the children of the wicked one.*' And again, '*As, therefore, the tares are gathered and burned with fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of Man shall send his angels, and gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire.*'

When heretics to be tolerated.

"When, therefore, the Lord prohibits all the bad to be extirpated, he does not prohibit that this or that man should be slain, but he prohibits that the good should attempt every where to extirpate all the bad, and not to let any of them live, for that could not be done without a great loss of the good. If, indeed, *it can be done,* they *are undoubtedly to be extirpated;* but if they cannot, either because they are not sufficiently known, and there is danger lest the innocent should suffer for the guilty, *or if they are stronger than we are, and there is danger if we attack them in war that more of us would fall than of them, then we are to keep quiet.* "*Tunc quiescendum est.*"

Mark the atrocious policy of Rome; she watches her opportunity, she bides her time till she can murder with impunity and with effect, and then she proceeds to the slaughter. Mistake not the impotence of disabled malice

for the absence of persecuting tenets. Her *words* are now smoother than oil, but war is in her *heart.* There are many other passages of a similar nature, in which the authority of God's Holy Word is quoted to sanction these crimes. And the immoral and antisocial tenets of Popery are sought to be supported by a perverted and blasphemous application of the Scriptures.

Canon law. Having now shown the principles inculcated in the ethics and divinity of Maynooth, the doctrines inculcated in her canon law come next in order. CABASSUTIUS, the Maynooth class-book of canon law—a book which the professor states, in his return to Parliament, the students are obliged to procure at their own expense, in the fifth book, and fifteenth chapter, section eighth, thus writes, —

Cabassutius. "Heretics, also, and those who receive and favour them, the ancient law excommunicates *ipso facto*, without any reservation to the chief pontiff." Then he quotes, as the authority for this, from the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, caput "*Sicut ait*," and caput "*Excommunicamus*," *De Hæreticis.* Now what is this law which this present class-book of Maynooth quotes as the authority for this sentence of excommunication? He quotes for it the 27th canon of the third Lateran council, and the 3d canon of the fourth Lateran council, the two most cruel and persecuting canons in the long black roll of papal intolerance and papal perfidy — the very canons enacted for the persecution of the Albigenses.

In one of the standards of the professors, in which, as they inform the parliamentary commissioners, the subject is treated more at large than in the class-books — REIFFENSTUEL, vol. v. p. 203. lib. v., *Decretals*, tit. vii., *De Hæreticis*— of the temporal and corporal punishments of heretics, are the following: — Temporal and corporal punishments.

" First.—Infamy, and, following from thence, incapacity for all civil acts.

" Second.—Intestability, both active and passive (that is to say, can neither make a will, nor inherit property).

"Third.—Loss of all paternal power over their children.

" Fourth.—Loss of dowry, and all privileges granted by law to females.

" Fifth.—Confiscation of all their property.

" Sixth.— That vassals, and servants, and all others, are freed from all obligations, even though sworn due to their lord and master, or any other person.

" Seventh.—Corporal punishments, and especially death and perpetual imprisonment."

Here are his statements on putting heretics to death: —

" Question seventh.—What corporal punishments, especially of imprisonment and death, have been decreed against heretics? Before we answer, it is to be observed, that, in this point, there is some difference between heretics that are penitent and impenitent, relapsed and not

relapsed. Hence, that a clear knowledge of the case may be had, we shall give a special answer to each.

" First, as to impenitent heretics.

Impenitent heretics.

" We answer, first, impenitent heretics, that is, who are unwilling to be converted, but obstinately persevering in their heresy, are to be put to death (*ultimo supplicio afficiendi sunt*), whether they be clergy or laity, but so that the heretical clergy first be degraded, and afterwards delivered to the secular power to be punished with death."

He quotes here several authorities, and among the rest this same third canon of the 4th Lateran.

Excommunicamus. Where this occurs, let those condemned by the Church be left to the secular tribunal, to be punished with the deserved penalty, the clergy being first degraded from their orders with the Concordance and Constitution of Charles the Fifth, published 1540; by the authority of which, impenitent heretics are to be burnt with fire, in which case their mouth and tongue should be bound up, lest they scandalize the weak with their blasphemies; as Farinacius well observes in the forecited place, having quoted many authorities and examples."

The Church of Rome is at no loss for authorities on the subject. There is another book of canon law, which was so authoritative that they had it as the class-book of Maynooth, before

Cabassutius. But it was not prudent to allow this book to remain so accessible to the visitors of Maynooth, or to have it known as the class-book. Cabassutius was substituted, as rather more mitigated in his doctrines; and then Devoti was elevated into the rank of one of the professor's standards.

Among the doctrines of this canonist on the subject of intolerance and persecution, are the following: —

DEVOTI, vol. iv. p. 74.

"Moreover, it is the part of the Church diligently to take care that the deposit of the faith may be preserved entire, that the unity of the faith and charity, and therefore of truth, be broken by no one; that all error may be far away, and all things be removed which could obstruct the truth and draw Christians away from it. Wherefore it is altogether her proper duty and office as well to banish afar off as to coerce by punishments all those who, as they dissent from Catholic truth, can corrupt others, cloud the faith by their example, by impurity, by the contagion of evil, which, proceeding from one, spreads forth diffusely. Nay, the mode of acting not only profits those who are of a sound faith, from whom all danger of corruption is removed, but also those who are in error, to whom the judgment of the Church's just correction has often wrought salvation. Therefore Saint Jerome, in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, chap. Devoti.

an ecclesiastical judge may put a man to torture, and the authority he quotes is in the body of their canon law, which lays down that those who voluntarily confess the crimes of others are not to be admitted; but he states how truth is to be elicited.

Torture.

"This (that is, the truth) the religious torturer ought to draw forth from its hiding-places by various torments; that while their bodies are subjected to punishments, those things which are done may be faithfully and truly brought to light."

This is the canon law quoted by the class-book of Maynooth on the subject of torture.

But there are some important considerations on the subject of this, and of the Inquisition, in the *standards* of Maynooth. In Devoti, vol. iv. tit. 8., "*Of the inquisitors of heretical pravity*," the first section states, that "the integrity of faith and morals is to be diligently guarded."

Devoti.

"Second. — That the tribunal of the Inquisition was established to take care of this.

"Third. — The origin of this tribunal.

The Pope presides over the congregation of the Inquisition.

"Fourth. — The congregation of the Inquisition at Rome, over which the chief pontiff presides.

"Fifth. — That business of great importance from the whole Christian world is to be referred to this."

It says, in section iv., —

"There is an assembly or congregation of

cardinals at Rome, instituted by the chief pontiffs, over which the Pope himself presides, and which, besides its servants, has many consulters or advisers of approved integrity and learning, whose aid and advice the cardinals use, that all more difficult matters may be more exactly and diligently arranged. This congregation presides over all the inquisitors who are diffused throughout the whole world, and to this they are to bring all their more difficult points of business, that they may be settled by its authority, which has been rightly and duly appointed, and is suitable to the office and power of the chief pontiff."

It will be observed, therefore, that this congregation of cardinals at Rome presides over these inquisitors, who are scattered over the whole world. There are enough of them at this moment in England.* To this congregation of cardinals these spies and agents refer all their movements, and act under their directions; and there is not a political movement in the country that is not thoroughly known, and often directed by these inquisitors, and the officers at Rome. Having given the statement of Devoti, as to the Inquisition, an extract from another canonist, Van Espen, on the subject, now follows. He says, part iii., tit. viii., sec. 28. : —

"If the judge sees that the proofs are not all Van Espin.

* See *antè*, p. 74.

convincing and clear, he cannot condemn the accused, especially to capital or corporal punishment; but if a proof half complete, or more than half complete, may be had, then the accused is now sometimes applied, in the secular tribunals, to the torture or question, that by the force of torments the confession of his crime may be extorted from the accused."

Reiffenstuel. In Reiffenstuel there is a complete detail of the whole process of inquisitorial punishment. It is written so that the inquisitor may have ample scope and directions, and make no mistake in the process of torturing his victim. The vth book of *Decretals*, title 1., section 6., is "*Of the visitation of the regulars, especially of our seraphic order.*" The heading of the 7th section is, "Of the criminal process of the regulars, and of the order and placing of the same, especially in our *seraphic religion.*" Again, the 8th section is headed, "A Compendious and clear practical instruction of duly forming a criminal process among the regulars, especially in our *seraphic order.*" Then the canonist proceeds to give a full detail of every mode of conducting the inquisitorial trial and

Imposition of penance. process. He says, in the section on the examination of the accused, "Having imposed on him a penance by the mode of torture, the judge can wait some time, according to his own pleasure, and see if he does not repent; but if he continues in his obstinacy, he can call him again, and ex-

amine him; but if he does not yet answer as he ought, he may increase the punishments and tortures, taking, however, as before, due counsel, and making the protestation" (that is, protesting, as it is stated before, that he only puts him to torture to make him confess); "and if then he effects nothing, he may defer this investigation to greater torture, to be applied after the defence has been made; meantime, he shall proceed to other interrogatories: but all things which are done ought to be inserted in the acts by the notary." Then follows the mode of torture:—"The modes of torturing are various, among which, that which is more frequent among the monks, and the more commodious, is the shutting up (arctatio) of the accused, as they call it, which consists in repeated flagellation, to be made by the hands of the accused himself, and by fasting on bread and water. Also flagellation, by which, by one or two lay brothers, the accused, being altogether naked, except his lower garments, is severely beaten at three intervals with stripes inflicted with knotty ropes, or sharp rods, with as many blows as the judge shall have determined."

Then the process goes on:—

"After he shall have been stripped and bound, the provincial orders the lay brothers to take the rods; but to the accused he says, 'I now advise him for the last time by words to confess the truth;' afterwards they shall begin the stripes. He

answers, 'I have already told the truth, and am willing to suffer for the truth, for I cannot lie.' Then the provincial commands that they should begin to hit him heavily till he desires them to stop, interposing the interval of half an Ave Maria between one blow and another, which also they have done, the provincial in the mean time secretly counting the blows by the beads of his rosary."

Secunda Secundæ. Again, in the *Secunda Secundæ* of Thomas Aquinas, as to the toleration of heretics, mode of reclaiming them, and their punishment if obstinate, we have the following: —

"On the part of the Church there is pity for the conversion of those in error, and therefore she does not immediately condemn them; but after the first and second admonition, as the apostle teaches. But afterwards, if he is still found obstinate, the Church, no longer hoping for his conversion, provides for the safety of others by separating him from the Church, by the sentence of excommunication; and further leaves him to the secular tribunal, to be *exterminated from the world by death!*"

Bellarmine. Bellarmine is very copious upon this subject, more so, perhaps, than any other standard of Maynooth. To quote at length were tedious; but the following principle for the guidance of Papists in dealing with Protestants is pithy in the extreme; it ought not to be forgotten by

heretics — it most assuredly is not by their persecutors: —

"Heretics, when strong, are to be committed to God; when weak, to the executioner."

And he proceeds, as before stated, to justify this, on the grounds of charity towards those thus to be executed.

Devoti, a celebrated canonist among these standards, on the subject, in his treatise, title vi., tom. 4., p. 69., On the *forbidden toleration* of the enemies of religion," has as follows: —

Reasons for not tolerating heretics.

SEC. I. — "All who dissent from Catholic truth are not to be tolerated among Catholics.

"Lest the minds of Catholics should be infected with errors, and corrupted with the opinions and acts of those whose opinions and religion are foreign from the truth, the Church hath justly and wisely ordained that these men should be expelled far from the society and fellowship of Catholics. Of these there is a numerous class; for some there are who totally deny a God, or make him an idle spectator, and nothing solicitous about human affairs; others who make a created being the author of all things. Finally, there are apostates, heretics, and schismatics. *That these should remain among Catholics is not to be borne.*"

We can now understand, in some measure, the source of the outrages upon the Protestants of Achill, and other parts of Ireland. They

are but a practical commentary upon the above atrocious sentiment.

Devoti adds a note to confirm his principle: it is as follows: —

"There is an old error of Apelles, as Eusebius testifies, saying that the reason of faith is not to be inquired into, because if all believe in Christ, and put their trust in him, they belong to the same church, although, perhaps, they may differ in other things: which error, also, George Cassander stirred up in the time of Bellarmine, as he himself testifies. The Donatists, in the time of Augustine, contended, against the Catholics, *that heretics were to be tolerated, and not to be coerced either by temporal or spiritual punishment*, which Augustine himself shows. This ERROR, John Wickliff, John Huss, Luther, Raymond, Lullus, Lœlius, Socinus, Gerardus, Titius, Zimmerman, Claude, Jurieu, and almost all Protestants, have renewed."

Error of Apelles revived by John Wickliffe, John Huss, Luther, and others.

What will the dissenting apologists for Rome say to this? Religious toleration an ERROR! And not only does this Popish canonist declare that "toleration" is an error, but he proceeds to state what the principle of the Church of Rome is. He says: —

"Among our Catholics it is *certain and fixed*, that *men are not to be tolerated* who are aliens from Catholic verity, and that *they are also to be coerced by merited punishments;* and this is demonstrated by Suarez, Bellarmine, Roffensis;

De Castro on the just punishment of heretics; Pamelius on admitting no diversity in religion."

And, after enumerating many others, he adds: —

"You may consult also the apology of Louis XIV. and his council for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, intended as an answer to the letter of a patriot on the civil toleration of Protestants in France. See also the Ecclesiastical Diary of Rome, tom. i. pp. 131. 147., and tom. ii. pp. 53. 57. 61. 65. Bossuet, who pursues this argument at length against Jurieu, *Histoire de Variations*, tom. v. p. 155, &c., edit. Paris, 1770, admirably says, Num. 115. p. 311., "*One sees clearly that that which renders this church so odious to Protestants* is chiefly, and more than all the other dogmas, her bold and inflexible incompatibility, if I may so speak; that is, that she wishes to be alone, because she believes herself *the spouse*—a title which suffers no participation; for this is, in fact, that which renders her *so severe, so unsociable*, consequently, so odious to all the separated sects; which, for the most part, at first only demand that she may please to grant them toleration, or, at least, not to smite them with her anathemas. But *her holy severity, and the holy delicacy of her sentiments*, do not permit them this indulgence, or rather, this tenderness; and her inflexibility, which makes her hated by the schismatical sects, makes her dear and venerable to the children of God." Bossuet.

We see, then, what "indulgence," or rather, what "tenderness," we are to expect from the "*holy severity, the holy delicacy of the sentiments*" of the Church of Rome, should she ever regain her supremacy in these favoured lands.

Dr. Murray. Now, Dr. Murray, when examined before the House of Lords in 1835, stated that Bossuet was "a very great authority" of the Church of Rome; and further, that his "History of the Variations," from whence the above character of the Church of Rome is extracted by Devoti, is considered to be supported by fact; and again, that he thought that "Bossuet would not mistake the doctrines of the Church of Rome." And yet Bossuet in this very work, the "History of the Variations," declares, the Church of Rome is the most intolerant of all christian sects." He says also again, "*the exercise of the power of the sword in matters of religion and conscience is a point not to be called in question: there is no illusion more dangerous than to make toleration a characteristic of the true church.*"

(*) The dissenting abettors and apologists of Popery should mark this also: the "liberal" Church of Rome declares, in the nineteenth century, notwithstanding her clamour and uproar about "universal rights," that "THERE IS NO ILLUSION MORE DANGEROUS THAN TO MAKE TOLERATION A CHARACTERISTIC OF THE TRUE CHURCH."

* See *ante*, p. 96. note.

Intermarriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics are quite repugnant to the principles of the Church of Rome, as developed in the Maynooth class-books. In the treatise concerning marriage it is asked, "When is it lawful for Catholics to contract marriage with heretics?" to which the following answers are given; and though fully admitting that evils are to be apprehended from such an union, and the strong manner in which it should be deprecated, the concluding reason of this quotation is so consonant with and characteristic of the bigoted, intolerant, and exclusive spirit of the Church of Rome, that it ought not to be overlooked or forgotten: — "First, it is lawful when the heretics really, not feignedly, as often happens, promise their conversion. Secondly, when very urgent reasons advise it; for instance, the certain hope of converting the husband or wife (as the case may be) to the Church, or of putting an end to enmities, or of inclining the heart of the Prince in favour of Catholics. Thirdly, when the Catholic parties are to have the power of fulfilling all the duties of their religion, and when no danger of perversion is to be apprehended either to them or to their children, and when no clause is affixed to the contract which may be injurious to their spiritual welfare, otherwise the marriage would be forbidden by the natural law. Nor is the marriage lawful, as Navarrus well remarks, when a compact is en-

Marriage with heretics generally unlawful.

tered into of bringing up the boys in the religion of their father, and the girls in the religion of their mother, as is done in many places, because *the Catholic party cannot agree to have some of their children handed over to the devil.*" *

Disloyal and seditious principles.

This system has been styled, and proved to be, immoral and anti-social. That would of itself be a sufficient reason, upon every sound principle of providing for the good of society, why no countenance or support should be given by public bounty. But it is also a system in which persons are trained up in principles of sedition, disloyalty, and rebellion.

It will be necessary to produce a few more extracts from the class-books and the standards of Maynooth, to show that these assertions are not the offspring of a wanton malignity — the mere figment of imagination — nor declamation without argument or proof. And though this may appear to some needless and uncalled for, it is the part of the true philanthropist to expose those evils that degrade and ruin his fellow-creatures, though the exposure may cost him some pain, and bring upon him, from those he would see reformed, unmerited obloquy and reproach. Much more, then, is it the duty of a Christian patriot to protect his country from every danger, whether arising from artifice or force — to point out the daring attack that is

* Tractatus de Matrimonio, p. 228.

openly made, or the secret mine by which others would seek to overturn and ruin the constitution.

To support, then, the assertion that the class-books and standards of Maynooth inculcate principles of disloyalty, as well as those of an antisocial and immoral nature, the works of Reiffenstuel shall again be cited; and this canonist lays down the law as to a king who has become a heretic, and the power of the Pope over his subjects. He says (lib. v. Decret. tit. 7. *de Hæret.*),— Reiffenstuel.

"The conclusion proceeds, even in the case in which any person has an obligation on oath to him who has lapsed into heresy. The doctors associated with the gloss commonly received on this quotation show. For the doctors commonly infer that *the Pope, on account of this crime, can, for the sake of religion, absolve the laity from an oath of fidelity, and from any other obligation, though confirmed by an oath which they held beforehand to the delinquent;* both as well because in every promise '*the cause of religion*' is considered excepted, as because in such an obligation and oath it is tacitly understood if he continues such a person with whom I may lawfully communicate, or if he does not render himself justly unfit and unworthy." Power of the Pope.

Observe the treachery and perfidy that is here set forth; in every oath that is taken, the cause of religion is to be excepted, that is, that where the religion of Popery is in question, no oath of alle- Vassals of heretical lords and princes.

giance or any other oath is binding; and the Pope can, where this is concerned, absolve the subjects of an heretical king from all fidelity to their sovereign.

Again: "It is inferred that vassals and slaves are, *ipso facto*, freed from their service and fidelity towards an heretical lord, as likewise male and female servants from obedience to the same."

Operation of such principles in 1798.

Here are the principles inculcated by Popery into subjects and servants; and it was too well illustrated, in the year 1798, in Ireland. In several instances, Roman Catholic servants, who had been faithful and attached to their masters, left their service, and told them they could not remain with them, as they could not preserve their fidelity to them.

Thomas Aquinas.

A passage from Thomas Aquinas is here important, in which he proposes this plain intelligible question (*Secunda Secundæ*, qu. 12. art. 2.):—

Is an apostate prince to be obeyed?

"Whether a prince, on account of apostacy from the faith, loses dominion over his subjects, so that they are not bound to obey him?" To this he answers, first, by citing the reasons which he supposes his *opponent* to advance; thus:—

Arguments in favour of allegiance even to apostate princes.

"It seems that a prince, on account of apostacy from the faith, does not lose dominion over his subjects, but they are bound to obey him; because the emperor Julian, although he was an apostate, yet had Christian soldiers under him, to whom when he said, 'Bring forth the army for

the defence of the republic,' they obeyed him. Therefore, on account of the apostacy of a prince, his subjects are not absolved from their allegiance.

"Secondly. Besides, an apostate from the faith is an unbeliever; but some holy men are found to have served faithfully unbelieving masters, — as Joseph, Pharaoh; Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar; Mordecai, Ahasuerus; therefore, on account of the apostacy from the faith, it is not determined but that a prince should be obeyed by his subjects.

"Thirdly. Besides, as by apostacy from the faith they depart from God, so also by any sin; if, therefore, on account of apostacy from the faith, princes should lose the right of commanding their faithful subjects; by a parity of reasoning they would lose it also on account of other sins. But this is evidently false; therefore, on account of apostacy from the faith, they must not rebel against princes." Such are the arguments in favour of loyalty. Now mark the answer to them: —

Authority for the negative, Gregory VII.

"But against this we have what Gregory VII. says, '*We, holding the statutes of our* sacred predecessors, *absolve by the apostolical authority those who are bound to excommunicated persons by fealty or the sacrament of an oath;* we absolve them *from the sacrament of their oath*, and prohibit them to observe faith towards them, by all means, till they make satisfaction. But apo-

states from the faith are excommunicated, as also heretics, as the *Decretal* says elsewhere, *De Hæreticis*, chap. *Ad Abolendam.* Therefore, we must not obey apostate princes.'

"But it does not belong to the Church to punish infidelity in those who never received the faith; according to the apostle, 1 Cor. chap. v.: 'How can I judge those that are without?' But the infidelity of those that have received the faith can, according to law, be punished, and conveniently punished, *in this, because they cannot govern faithful subjects*, for this would verge into a great corruption of the faith; because, as it is said in a preceding part, the 'apostate contrives evil in his wicked heart, and sows discord, tending to separate men from the faith,' and therefore, as soon as ever any one is denounced excommunicated on account of apostacy from the faith, his subjects are, *ipso facto*, absolved from their allegiance, and from the oath of allegiance by which they were bound to him."

Here is the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas on the subject — the master spirit that guides the College of Maynooth.*

Letter from the Cardinal Prefect.

* In a letter dated from Rome, on July the ninth, in the year 1796, just after the establishment of the College of Maynooth, the cardinal prefect of the Propaganda at Rome, which presides over the inquisitors throughout all the world, wrote a letter, addressed to the most illustrious and reverend the archbishops and bishops, prefects or commissaries of the Royal College of St. Patrick of Maynooth, in Ireland, in which he directs as follows: —

To quote again Cardinal Bellarmine, in reference to the authority of the Pope. He says, book v. cap. vi., "*That the Pope has the chief temporal power, — at least indirectly.*" Power of the Pope.

This is exactly the point in which this empire is concerned. It is admitted that the Pope hath not a *direct* temporal power. *That* he, happily, hath not; but the question is, *whether he claims an indirect temporal power, and what is that power?* Bellarmine says: —

"That we may explain this thing in particular, the spiritual power of the Pope is to be compared with the persons of judges, or of secular princes, with their civil laws, tribunals,

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"But since some questions yet arise, which are agitated in the disputations of the schools, on either side, yet preserving faith and peace, it is of great importance to determine what guides and masters may be best made use of for their explanation. In which choice we are saved from any protracted hesitation, by the immediate presentation to our eyes of these two divines, Augustine and Thomas, on whose excellent learning, embracing almost the whole circle of theological discipline, every one may the more safely rely, as in every age, by the consent of all wise men, and by the well known decrees of the greatest Pontiffs, marks of the highest praise and commendation have been bestowed upon them.

"Under their guidance, the excessive and too relaxed facility of some persons in framing rules for manners will be so avoided, that the mildness and sweetness of evangelical love shall never be disjoined from that wholesome severity which is the property of the Christian dispensation."

and judgments. As far as relates to their persons, the Pope cannot ordinarily depose temporal princes, even for just cause, as he can bishops, that is, as an ordinary judge. But he can change kingdoms, and take them away from one, and give them to another, as the highest *spiritual prince, if that be* necessary for the salvation of souls!

"As to laws, the Pope cannot, as the Pope, enact a civil law, or confirm it; nor can he repeal the laws of princes, because he is not a political prince. But he can do all these things if any civil law is necessary for the salvation of souls, and kings do not choose to enact it, or if any law be injurious to the salvation of souls, and kings do not choose to repeal it."

Again, Bellarmine says: —

"The ecclesiastical commonwealth must be perfect and self-sufficient in order to its own end, for such are all well-regulated commonwealths; therefore it must have every power necessary to effect its proper end. But it is necessary, for the spiritual end, to have the power of using and disposing of temporal things; because otherwise bad princes might with impunity cherish heretics and overturn religion; and, therefore, it has this power."

"Also every commonwealth, because it must be perfect and self-sufficient, may command another commonwealth not subject to it, and compel it to change its administration; *nay,*

even to depose its prince, and set up another; when it cannot otherwise defend itself from his acts of violence: therefore, *much more may the spiritual commonwealth command the temporal, which is subject to it, and compel it to change its administration, and depose its princes,* and set up others, when it cannot otherwise defend its own spiritual good."

And in this manner are to be understood the words of St. Bernard, lib. iv. *De Consideration ibus;* and Boniface VIII., in his *Extravagantibus,* in the bull, *Unam Sanctam de majoritate et obedientia,* when they say that the Pope possesses both swords. For they wish to indicate that the Pope has of himself and properly the *spiritual* sword, and because the *temporal* sword is subject to the *spiritual,* that the Pope may command a king, or forbid the use of the temporal sword, when the necessity of the Church requires it.

The next passage is a very material case in point.

Tolerating an heretical king.

"Hence, to tolerate an heretical king, or an infidel king, endeavouring to draw men to his sect, is to expose religion to evident peril; for such as the ruler is, such will be the people who dwell under his rule. And experience teaches this: because Jeroboam the king was an idolater, the greater part of the kingdom began to worship idols; and, after the dawning of Christianity, when Constantine reigned, Christianity

flourished; when Constantius reigned, Arianism flourished. And again, in later times, when, in England, Henry reigned, and afterwards Edward, the power of the Church was depressed. When Mary reigned, then the whole kingdom returned to the Church; but when Elizabeth reigned, then Calvinism began to reign, and the true religion was expelled."

And again: "Those wolves who devastate the church of the Lord are heretics, as appears from Matthew vii., 'Beware of false prophets,' &c. If, therefore, a prince, from being a sheep or a ram, becomes a wolf, that is, from being a Christian becomes a heretic, the pastor of the church can shut him out by excommunication, and, at the same time, order the people not to follow him, and so deprive him of dominion over his subjects."

Bull Unam Sanctam.

In a celebrated bull, taken from the body of canon law, *Bull Unam Sanctam*, Bonif. VIII., A.D. 1302, is the following: —

"We are instructed by the words of the Evangelists. In his power there are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. For when the apostles said, '*Lo, here are two swords,*' viz. in the Church; when the apostle spoke, the Lord did not say, *It is too much,* but, '*It is enough.*' Certainly, he who denies that the temporal sword is in the power of St. Peter, badly attends to the word of our Lord, saying, 'Put up thy sword into its sheath.' Both swords, therefore, are in

the power of the Church, viz. the spiritual sword and the material sword; but the one is to be exercised for the Church, the other by the Church; that is the property of the priest in the hand of kings and soldiers, but at the nod and sufferance of the priest; for it behoves that one sword be subject to the other, and that the temporal authority be subject to the spiritual power."

Again: —

"For truth bearing witness, the spiritual power can appoint the earthly power, and judge it, if it be not good; for thus the prophecy of Jeremiah truly states of the Church, and power of the Church, 'Behold, I have set thee over nations and kingdoms,' &c., which follow. Therefore, if the earthly power deviates, it is judged by its superior; but if the supreme power deviates, it can be judged by God alone, not by man, as the apostle testified, 'The spiritual man judgeth all things, but he himself is judged by no man.'"

The bull concludes,—

"Moreover, we declare, affirm, define, and pronounce, that it is altogether a matter of necessity of salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." — *Extrav. Com.* lib. i. tit. viii. cap. 1.

No salvation out of the Church of Rome.

"If these extracts do not prove that perjury, intolerance, persecution, and sedition are inculcated in the class-books and standards of the College of Maynooth, then let us change the

language in which we have ever been accustomed to express our ideas; let us alter our vocabulary to keep pace with the march of intellect; and let us call intolerance, persecution, and sedition, by the names of charity, liberality, and civil and religious liberty all over the world." *

These quotations ask not for any lengthened comment, they speak for themselves; and although every word and sentiment is not extracted from the canons, decrees, or councils of the self-styled infallible Church, they are yet the language of men of the highest standing and repute in her estimation; and which, inasmuch as they have met with no authorised contradiction, prohibition, or censure, but, on the contrary, have been oftentimes highly praised, may be regarded as containing that which is orthodox, and consonant to the genius, the principles, the doctrine, and discipline of the Church of Rome; whether however that be so or not, it is by no means a matter of importance here to inquire. Are they used at Maynooth is the question, and do they contain the foregoing justly-reprobated sentiments? The professors themselves of Maynooth answer this question, by having returned them to the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry; and they derive additional weight and importance from having been recommended to that institu-

* M'Ghee's "Popery in Maynooth;" from which work, principally, the foregoing extracts are taken.

tion by the very high authority quoted in a preceding note, viz. the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, who, in his letter addressed to the trustees of the College at Maynooth, gives general advice as to the mode of discipline and instruction there to be pursued, and the principles on which it should be conducted; recommending at the same time the works of certain divines and theologians to their especial notice, as embracing almost the whole circle of theological discipline, and tempering the mildness of evangelical love with the salutary severity peculiar to the Christian dispensation.

Letter of the Cardinal Prefect.

They are cautioned most carefully to provide, "that there be none among them who, led on by a false species of zeal, may think it lawful to soften down the sacred doctrines, or the consecrated language in which they are conveyed, with the view of being the better able to allure dismembered sects to enter into union with the Catholics; as if — treating it as a forensic dispute — it were lawful to compromise the word of God, whose sacred deposit is entrusted to the Church, to be kept with incorrupted integrity — unskilful indeed, not to perceive amidst the perpetual inconstancy and changeableness of all worldly things, that this remarkable unity of Catholic doctrine — inviolate from the beginning — could not have been preserved without the miraculous blessing of its Divine Founder: which unchangeable constancy, the very finger of

The unity of the Church.

God has impressed this signal mark, manifest to the eyes of all; by which the one divine religion, by her own light, might separate herself from the varying opinions of all other sects." *

The reply. They, in their reply for so remarkable a proof of his love and regard to them and the Church of Ireland, return their warmest thanks; and at the same time promise that, God assisting them, there is nothing that they will not do, according to their strength, that those things which have

Unity and antiquity considered.

* The argument of any institution being right or wrong, drawn from mere unity or antiquity, is futile and sophistical to the last degree.

Error may be ancient; and, in an undisturbed repose, may have exercised its sway, and spread its pernicious influence over many generations of men. Its essential nature, however, continues still the same — unconsecrated by any length of time that may have passed since it first arose. Roman Catholics will themselves admit that neither the antiquity nor unity among the inhabitants of "the Celestial Empire" can divest their form of worship of the characteristic of the grossest idolatry; and will, equally with Protestants, deplore that the religion of Mahomet has been so widely spread, though its whole career has been marked by an almost unbroken unity, and spread its sullen influence over those countries that once enjoyed the pure light of Christianity.

But if neither in the religion of China nor of Turkey the pleas of antiquity and unity are admitted as sufficient answers, why are they to be regarded such, when the question is between pure Christianity, and its worst corruption?

been so wisely and opportunely commended to them by his Eminence, for the good of religion, and the ornament of their ministry, may be carried into effect. And again, speaking of those who were to be educated for the ministry in that college, they reply that "it is of great importance, as your Eminence wisely advises, that they may be nourished with the food of sound doctrine, and restrained from that which is noxious or suspected. They must be guarded also from useless and foolish questions, which gender strifes. But in doubtful matters, which, preserving faith and peace, are yet disputed in the schools, as it is known to us with what just approbation the greatest pontiffs and the whole Church have, in every age, commended the learning of St. Augustine, and St. Thomas — his most faithful interpreter, — we will provide that these shall be received and followed as our guides and masters in questions of this kind.

"We deeply deplore, indeed, that some are found, even among those professing themselves Catholics, who, either led on by a false kind of piety, or the enticements of a luxuriant fancy, endeavour to extenuate and soften down the hallowed doctrines or their sacred language sanctified by the Church of God, and, despising the common authority of all the Churches, exhibiting themselves teachers of the law, are turned aside to profane and vain speaking, not sufficiently considering that hence is excited a spirit of con-

tention, which custom the Church of God hath not. To these we will constantly oppose the admirable saying of Augustine, that the doctrine of truth is placed in the seat of unity; and therefore that it was lawful for no one — truly a Catholic —to withdraw himself from the government of the apostolic seat; from which alone Jerome, that greatest doctor, implored most earnestly the rule for right speaking and right thinking might be given to him. This salutary law of thinking and speaking we receive from our masters, than whom none were ever more ready to acknowledge and defend the supreme jurisdiction and authority of the Roman Pontiff, divinely instituted over all the faithful of Christ, which, as also the most sacred deposit of other doctrines of Catholic faith committed to us, we will faithfully preserve, to be handed down inviolate to our successors."

Rome, therefore, it is clear, has not been unwatchful over, nor forgetful of this college: and her recommendations, it would seem, have met with the most marked deference and respect; the books which by name are recommended by the Cardinal Prefect to the president, prefects, &c. of the college they gratefully mention by name also in their reply to the Cardinal, pledging themselves that they would omit nothing on their part to carry into effect those things so wisely and opportunely commended for the good of their religion, and the ornament of their ministry.

The assertion that the system of education at Maynooth College is immoral, anti-social, and disloyal, is now, it is submitted, fully borne out and supported; and its anti-scriptural character only remains to be shown. This may be of a twofold nature, — The system anti-scriptural.

1. As affecting its theological errors.

2. Those evil practices which result from them.

Upon the former it is not the province of this work to enter; the latter rests upon the same proofs as those by which the preceding charges are supported. For, if Scripture gives to us the sure and firm foundation of pure morality, social happiness, and loyalty, based upon right principles and motives; — if it be the word of Him who came to "bring peace on earth, good will towards men," we have only to see how far, as regards the civil rights and institutions of mankind, the principles, the tenets, and the practices of the Church of Rome are consonant with or opposed to it, to decide whether or not it be also an anti-scriptural system.

If, superseding vital Christianity by profane superstitions, it at the same time, instead of infusing into the political and social circle that spirit of peace, harmony, and good will, which glows in every page of that Sacred Volume, promotes religious discords, feuds, and animosities between families, and states, and empires; and,

instead of loyalty, fosters the dark spirit of treason, disloyalty, and rebellion; it must be a system opposed to the very letter and spirit of Christianity and Scripture: and, most assuredly, any system of theology, morality, or legislation, whether passing under the name and semblance of politics or religion, that shall so inculcate principles opposed to sound morality, social happiness, and a deferential submission and obedience of the governed to their governors, must, beyond a doubt, justly incur the stigma affixed to it, of being a system of education, —

1. Immoral,
2. Anti-social,
3. Disloyal; and, therefore,
4. Anti-scriptural.

Further extracts needless.

With further extracts, then, upon these points, it were needless to load the pages of this book. Sufficient has been said to arouse the mind of every man, alive to the importance of education —to the blessings which flow from it if conducted on a virtuous and religious basis, and the mighty evils that must be produced if conducted on erroneous principles and directed to a bad end,—to exert himself to effect a discontinuance of these evils, and by every Christian and constitutional exertion in his power to rid himself of all responsibility for those to be produced by its continuance.

To enter upon theological discussion would be departing from the object had in view when this

vork was commenced. I am not writing a treatise on theology. With the theological errors of the Roman Catholic religion it is not my province here to interfere, any further than they may be connected with the civil duties and conduct of Roman Catholics.

Having seen the objects contemplated by those who were advocates for the establishment of this or some similar institution—that, after nearly fifty years' experiment, the result has been so disastrous (the reverse of what was predicted having taken place) — the priesthood, instead of being conciliated, being made thereby more hostile to Protestant interests, and more bigotedly attached to, and resolved to promote their own, — and the people, taught by those who are themselves disaffected, becoming more disloyal, turbulent, and ill-affected, — what remains for us, but, on the one hand, at once to prevent the continuance and extension of this evil, by withholding our assistance from it; or, on the other, madly to persevere in the dangerous course upon which we have entered, resolved rather to perpetuate and ncrease the evil, and perish, from our own wickedness and folly, than to acknowledge the error, and retrace the steps that have led to such alarming consequences.

" The foundation of the College had the effect of creating a local and permanent base to the ecclesiastical Popish structure in Ireland. It was the formation of a fountain from whence

might always be derived a supply of ready trained zealots to advance the interests of Rome, fight her battles, and recruit or strengthen the army of priestly tyrants, who are devastating Ireland, and saturating her soil with Protestant blood, as an offering at the shrine of the harlotry of Rome. The influence of the priests at elections can scarcely be overrated. The organization of the Irish population is so simple and so complete, merely consisting in the blind and uninquiring obedience of the populace to their priests, that Dr. M'Hale was, perhaps, not far wrong when he affirmed that "he would return a cow-boy for the important county of Galway."*

The power of the priests.

"But had that system of instruction been the most perfect upon earth — had the standards and class-books been the most unexceptionable *Romish* works in existence, — we could not do otherwise than deprecate with intense indignation the alimenting such an institution by means of an annual parliamentary grant. When, however, the system is the worst, and the class-books and standards are amongst the most seditious, and contain doctrines diametrically opposed to the peace and welfare of society — destructive of moral virtue — persecuting, intolerant, disloyal, and blasphemous in the ex-

* Church of England Quarterly Review, July 1839, p. 53.

treme, — how vehement should be our protest against so iniquitous a grant, — how universal should be the presentation of strong and emphatic remonstrances to Parliament against so base and criminal an expenditure of the public money! And what an amount of criminality will rest upon our shoulders, if our voices are not heard in the senate, petitioning in the most urgent terms of indignant remonstrance for the withdrawal of all support from so abominable an establishment! * The objection, and one that might be an insuperable one to all regarding consistency, would be to the endowment of any seminary for the education of a priesthood to oppose and overturn the established religion of the country. Animated by such motives, there have been found from time to time protesters against this grant, and petitioners for its discontinuance, from various places in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland, emanating not from obscure places and individuals, but from those equally to be admired for their piety and their learning — men whose interest in their country's good must place them above all suspicion of being actuated by sordid or unworthy motives; and though the prayer of those petitioners has not yet been attained, there is good reason for believing that much has been done by its hav-

Inconsistency of such endowments.

* Church of England Quarterly Review, July 1839, p. 53.

ing been brought thus prominently before the public, and that a more sound, religious, and Christian feeling, has been elicited on this and similar important topics: and as it may be gratifying and useful to some to know what proceedings have been had in Parliament upon this subject, and the tenor of the debates respecting it, it may not be considered inappropriate to introduce in this portion of the work the debates which have at various times arisen when the Irish estimates have been brought forward, when petitions against any continued grant have been presented, or distinct and substantive motions made with reference thereto. The following seems to have been the first debate upon the question in the British House of Commons.*

Debates in Parliament.

Feb. 20. 1807. In the parliamentary debates of February 20th, 1807 †, on the Irish Miscellaneous Services, on the resolution that a sum of 5000*l.* be granted for the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, in Ireland, in addition to the sum of 8000*l.* annually, which additional grant was for the erection of other buildings for the further accommodation of the students in that seminary, a short discussion took place.

* Many of these reports are extracted at length; but some it has been found necessary to curtail of much irrelevant matter, in order to avoid prolixity; at the same time preserving the spirit of the debate.

† Cobbett's Parl. Deb., vol. viii. p. 938.

Mr. Perceval had no objection, as this esta- Mr. Perceval.
blishment had been founded previous to the Union, to granting the sum of 8000*l.*, as usual; but as he looked upon the present proposed addition as the commencement of an increasing expenditure, which would tend to make that university rival the university of Dublin, and tend to the establishment of the Catholic religion, he felt it his duty to express his dissent to it in the first instance, though he did not then mean to press his opposition to a division. If he was rightly informed, the youth of the Roman Catholic gentry were educated at the university of Dublin before the establishment of this institution, which practice had only ceased since. If this addition was in this instance to be granted, it would be the foundation for a further application next year, and he was against the policy of giving any encouragement to the growth of the Roman Catholic religion.

Sir John Newport observed, that the question Sir John Newport.
was not whether the Catholic clergy should be educated in foreign countries, or at home; for in the present state of Europe they could not go for education to foreign countries. The question, therefore, was, whether they should be educated at all? Every gentleman would admit that the Catholics would not, by being educated abroad, be rendered better subjects, and that a domestic education for them was most desirable.

Since the establishment of the institution, by the disuse of foreign education the demand for a supply of Catholic clergymen had increased, in order to replace the infirm or the dead, and had increased to such a degree, that the college did not afford sufficient. It had on that account been recommended by the government of Ireland to increase the grant, for the purpose of providing greater accommodations. The petition was solely for the education of the Catholic clergy; but a lay seminary * had been established near the college which had the benefit of the professors of the college. The Catholics had not been allowed to enter the university of Dublin till the relaxation of 1793, and this institution had immediately been founded.

Mr. A. H. Herbert.

Mr. A. H. Herbert said, that there was not an item in the whole accounts to which he should give so hearty and cordial an assent as that which was now before the committee; he insisted that, if we were in earnest with the people of Ireland, — if Maynooth College was not a mockery,—we should not hesitate to give the grants necessary for its maintenance.†

Mr. Perceval.

Mr. Perceval said, that many of the Catholic

* This has long been discontinued. See *antè*, p. 38.

Sir Arthur Wellesley's statement.

† This, it will be perceived, was made in an entire misunderstanding of the case; as it appears, from the statement of Sir Arthur Wellesley, that it was not intended that Maynooth should be supported from the public purse;

gentry were educated in the Protestant university of Ireland before the erection of Maynooth College; but that since that impolitic measure, the number of Catholic pupils in Dublin College had considerably diminished.

Sir J. Newport thought that the right honourable gentleman must have been misinformed on that head, as before the year 1793 no Roman Catholic students were admissible. Sir J. Newport.

Mr. Perceval further contended against the policy of any institution for the encouragement of Catholicism in Ireland to the manifest injury of Protestantism. Mr. Perceval.

Sir J. Newport * denied that there was a lay institution of the nature asserted by the honourable member: the college founded and supported by government was for the education of the priesthood, and the priesthood only: instruction to the laity, however, he admitted, might have been a secondary object. Sir J. Newport.

Mr. Grattan said that the question lay within a narrow compass, whether the Roman Catholic was to go abroad, form foreign connections, Mr. Grattan.

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and that the memorial presented previously to the foundation of that establishment prayed only for a charter, in order that their funds might be better secured.

* The Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry state in their Report, that there had been a lay college, though it was after a short time discontinued. See *antè*, p. 38.

involve himself in foreign relations, and bring home foreign affections to his country; or whether he was to remain in his native land, and there acquire the instruction he was there to disseminate? If this could be as well effected in the College of Dublin, he should rejoice at it; for he would ever wish to see the Catholic and Protestant walking hand in hand together; he would wish to have them acting in such co-operation as to have in common the one grand impulse and the one grand end. But the expense of instruction was complained of. What was the expense? 13,000*l.* And what was got by that 13,000*l.*? The instruction of three millions and a half of people. This would be more than economy — it would be worse than parsimony. Keep the Roman Catholic at home; home education will *promote allegiance;* foreign education can engender no great loyalty: kept at home, and *taught to love his country,* he must revere its government.

Mr. Bankes. *Mr. Bankes* thought the institution highly impolitic, and maintained that Catholicism in Ireland should be discouraged rather than upheld.

Captain Herbert. *Captain Herbert* warmly supported the institution, and illustrated its policy by an allusion to a certain occurrence in the French revolution, at the expulsion of the priests, and the consequent degradation of the Protestant clergy.

Lord Stanley. *Lord Stanley* approved of the principles of the institution.

The resolutions were then agreed to; and, on the House resuming, the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

On the 13th July, 1807,* a short discussion took place on the question, which was again more fully entered into on the 15th July in the same year; when, the House having resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, — Debate of 15th July, 1807.

Mr. Foster, in moving that the sum of 13,000*l.* be granted for defraying the expenses of the Romish College at Maynooth, observed, that though he now proposed the larger sum, because a great part of it had been already advanced, he by no means pledged himself to repeat such a proposition in any succeeding year. Mr. Foster.

Mr. Elliot spoke, defending the conduct of the late administration, and contending that it would be infinitely more wise and politic to afford facilities for educating the Roman Catholics at home, than to send them abroad to receive a foreign education. Mr. Elliot.

Mr. Hawkins Browne thought his right honourable friend (Mr. Foster) had acted on this occasion with great liberality and moderation. He had said, that if he had been a member of the British Parliament he never would have given his assent to establish such an anomaly as *a college maintained,* within the realm, *at the ex-* Mr. Hawkins Browne.

* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. ix. p. 790.

pense of the state, to educate a clergy for the purpose of *propagating a religion contrary and hostile to the state itself;* a religion which every member of that House was bound to abjure, before he could take his seat; a religion of superstitious, intolerant, and persecuting principles; and which, however friendly he was to toleration and liberty of conscience, he was sorry to find so inveterately rooted amongst so great a portion of the people of Ireland, and now cherished by the sanction of the law. He lamented extremely that there were so many Roman Catholics in Ireland, and would have no objection to agree to the establishment of parish schools for their education; — not like the Protestant charter schools, to procure proselytes, — but where they might be instructed in the fundamental principles of Christianity, in which all sects agree. But, if the Irish Catholics wished to educate their clergy, let them do it, like the Protestant Dissenters, at their own cost, instead of loading the Protestants of Ireland with taxes, for the purpose of supporting a college on their account.

Mr. Windham.

Mr. Windham had not expected such a discussion at this moment. The Honourable Gentleman had spoken of the Catholic College as an anomaly. The best answer to that was, that the state of Ireland was itself an anomaly, where three fourths of the people continued Catholics notwithstanding all the legal cruelties, proscrip-

tions, and privations, for so many hundred years, in order to drive them into Protestants.

Mr. Parnell said he held in his hand the prayer-book used by the Roman Catholics in Ireland, out of which, with the permission of the House, he would read a few extracts, for the purpose of showing that the doctrines attributed to that body of men were either misunderstood, or grossly misrepresented. He accordingly read the following sections of that book: — "It is no matter of faith that the Church cannot err, either in matters of fact, in matters of speculation, or civil policy, depending on mere human reason, these not being divine revelations deposited in the Catholic Church. 3. If a general council, much less a papal consistory, should presume to depose a king, and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, no Catholic could be found to submit to such decree. Hence it follows — 4. That subjects of the king of England lawfully may, without the least breach of any Catholic principle, renounce, upon oath, the teaching or practising the doctrine of deposing kings, excommunicated for heresy by any authority whatsoever, as repugnant to the fundamental laws of the nation, as injurious to the sovereign power, and as destructive to peace and good government. 6. It is no matter of faith to believe that the *Pope* is himself infallible. 7. Nor do Catholics*, as Catholics, believe that Mr. Parnell.

* See *antè*, pp. 121—129.

Mr. Parnell. the Pope has any direct or indirect authority over the temporal powers and jurisdiction of princes. Hence, if the Pope should pretend to absolve, or dispense His Majesty's subjects from their allegiance, on account of heresy or schism, such dispensation should be vain and null; and all Catholic subjects, notwithstanding such dispensation or absolution, should be still bound in conscience to defend their king and country, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes (as far as Protestants would be bound), even against the Pope himself, should he invade the nation. 9. As for the king-killing doctrine, or murder of princes excommunicated for heresy, it is universally admitted in the Catholic Church, and expressly so declared in the councils of Constance, that such doctrine is impious and execrable, being contrary to the known laws of God and nature. 11. It is a fundamental * truth of our religion, that no power on earth can

* We should like to see the date assigned at which these became such "fundamental truths." If it be so, some of their greatest writers have strangely misunderstood the principles of their church. (See *antè*, p. 123.) But it is constantly argued against Protestants, that the writings of individual Roman Catholics are not to be regarded as binding upon their church; therefore also, by like reason, Protestants ought not to be induced to look upon the principles once avowed in authoritative works of that church, as no longer in existence, merely because some of her members have disclaimed or denied them.

license men to lie, to forswear or perjure themselves, to massacre* their neighbours, or destroy their native country, on pretence of promoting Mr. Parnell.

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* This must contrast most strikingly with the sad events which had but just then passed under review. The following confession of a servant, of the murder of his master, taken from Musgrave's "History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798," is a specimen of the effect, of which a long series of instances might be adduced. Thomas Cleary was executed the 8th of March, 1800, for the murder of his master, Edward Turner, Esq., on the bridge of Wexford: just before his execution he made the following confession, in the presence of Joshua Nunn, Esq., high sheriff, the undersigned gentlemen, and many others, that he was guilty of the said murder. On his being asked did he not think it a sin to kill his master? he replied, that he often heard the people say it was not a sin to kill him; and that since the murder of his master he received absolution from two priests — Father *Murphy*, of the parish of *Kilrush*, in the said county, and Father *Ryan*, who had done duty for Father *Ned Redmond*, of the parish of *Ferns*. He was also asked, did they order him to do anything for committing so horrid a crime? he answered, they ordered him to fast* three days in each week for a month, as a penance!

Joshua Nunn, High Sheriff.
James Boyd.
Christopher Wilson.
William Turner.†

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* This was from meat only.

† See Protestant Journal, 1832, p. 24.

Mr. Parnell. the Catholic cause or religion. Furthermore*, all pardons or dispensations granted, or pre-

* Who is the author of this work does not appear: readiness to disown bad principles, when detected and denounced by an enlightened and Christian people, resembles the honesty of the thief, who, when detected, would disown, if possible, alike, the furtive deed and the dishonest principle from which it resulted. These dangerous principles *were* held by that church; the accusations of history are too strong to be got rid of. Had she, in the exercise of unmolested power, been able to stifle inquiry, — to suppress liberty of speech and action, — to take away the right of private judgment, — those same dark principles that result from her corrupted faith had never been denied either by the writers of the "Prayer Book used by the Roman Catholics of Ireland," alluded to by Mr. Parnell, or any other member of the Church of Rome. Their detection — their exposure — their denunciation — their total incompatibility with the dissemination of Christian light, has led to an attempted abjuration of them. But it is not the abjuration by any one individual that can exonerate the Church from those principles which she has so constantly put forth in her bulls, her canons, and councils. The honest avowal of these sentiments in times of darkness, and the rigorous and fearful practice that followed thereon, form a striking contrast to the unqualified denial with which some, in the present day, would now meet any charge against the Roman Catholic Church as containing such dangerous dogmas; but as they were her principles of action, naturally flowing from other vile and corrupt principles, and as her conduct was consonant thereto, when none, but at the peril of life, the loss of property or empire, confiscation, imprisonment, or death, dared to gainsay or resist — so are they

tended to be granted, in order to any such ends or designs, could have no other validity or effect Mr. Parnell.

still; *her holy severity, the holy delicacy of her sentiments, and her inflexibility, which makes her hated by the schismatical sects* *, still remains; and when a time equally fitting may have arrived—when opportunities favour—when, by lawless force on the one hand, or by duplicity and stratagem on the other, she shall possess any power adequate to the purpose, — those who are now the most sceptical may have their doubts removed by witnessing the results of these dire principles illustrated and carried out practically before them. The charge remains unmet and unrefuted. Rome cannot thus acquit herself—

—— "hæret lateri lethalis arundo."

The moment it is plucked thence, Rome dies, — the Papacy is no more.

If, however, these be not the principles of the Church of Rome, why is it, that, though thus abjured by some, they are still to be found, in all their unqualified deformity, in the class-books and standards of Maynooth, in Dens's "Theology," in the notes to the Rhemish Testament, &c., published since the prayer-book from which Mr. Parnell read, and in which, among others, is the following?†—

"The Church, by her laws, may render persons incompetent *to take* a vow." And again:—

"Q. By what means does the obligation of a vow cease? Dens's Theology.

"A. Chiefly these: 1. by dispensation; 2. commutation; 3. by the ceasing of the end; 4. by reason of an unfulfilled condition. Similar modes may be understood, or reduced to the former. Vows.

* Bossuet, "Histoire de Variations."

† Dens, vol. iv. No. 106. p. 129. "De votis."

Mr. Parnell. than to add sacrilege and blasphemy to the above-mentioned crimes."

Vows. "Q. What is the dispensation of a *vow*?

"A. It is the relaxation of a vow, on sufficient cause, by a *legitimate superior*, in the place of God. It is proved, by the practice of the Church, that this power of dispensing and commuting vows was given by God to the Church; and it is contained in that general concession of power, Matthew xvi., 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.'"

Again:—

"Q. Who have the ordinary power of dispensing?

"A. The supreme pontiff has the plenitude of power for dispensing, in all dispensable vows, in the whole Church: others derive power from him, either by ordinary right, or by delegation. (S. Thom. 2. 2. quæst. 88. a. 12. ad 3.)

"A bishop in his own diocese has the ordinary power of dispensing in vows. (S. Thom. 2. 2. quæst. 88. art. 12. Dens, iv. 138.)

No. 114. "Of the causes of dispensation."

"Q. What are thought sufficient causes for a dispensation?

"A. These are multiform: the honour of God; necessity; or *the utility of the Church*; greater spiritual good of the persons vowing, &c.

S. Thom. quæst. 89. art. 9.

Oaths. "Q. By what means does the obligation of a promissory *oath* cease?

"A. Chiefly by these:—1. by dispensation, or a releasing; 2. by commutation; 3. by the change or subtraction of the matter; 4. by the complete ceasing of the end; 5. by reason of an unfulfilled condition; 6. by the ceasing of the principal obligation, when the accessory also ceases; 7. by not accepting, by pardoning, or remitting; 8. if the

The book from which he had read these extracts, the Honourable Member assured the Mr. Parnell.

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oath begins to verge to the prejudice of the public good, or even of some private person, &c. &c. But you will find these more extensively explained above, in the 'Treatise on Vows,' from No. 106. to 124. See *antè*, p. 152.*

In an edition of the Rhemish Testament published in 1816-7, the note on Matthew xiii. 29. is, "The good must tolerate the evil, where it is so strong that it cannot be redressed without danger, and disturbance of the whole Church; and commit the matter to God's judgment in the latter day. Otherwise, where ill men (be they heretics or other malefactors) may be punished or suppressed without disturbance, and hazard of the good, *they may*, and OUGHT, *by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or executed.*" Rhemish Testament.

Again, in a note on Matthew xxvii. 24., is the following: — "*Innocent of his blood.*] Though Pilate was much more innocent than the Jews, and would have been free from the murder of our Saviour, seeking all the means that he could (without offending the people, and the emperor's laws) to dismiss him; yet he is damned for being the minister of the people's wicked will against his own conscience; even as all officers are, and especially the judges and *juries*, which execute laws of temporal princes against Catholic men; for all such are guilty of innocent blood, and are nothing excused by that they execute other men's will according to the laws, which are unjust. For they should rather suffer death themselves than put an innocent man to death."

Many other extracts might be given to reconcile the denial of such principles by some writers, and their promulgation by others. The following quotation may be Mr. B. White.

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* Dens's Theology, p. 214.

Mr. Parnell. House, was in general use and circulation in Ireland, and was held in as great respect and ve-

Mr. B. White. useful: — "From the attention which I have lately given to the books which issue out of the English Roman Catholic press, I am convinced that there exist two kinds of writers of your persuasion; one who write for the Protestant public, and for such among yourselves as cannot well digest the real, unsophisticated system of their Roman head; the other for the mass of their British and Irish church, who still adhere to the Roman Catholic system, such as it is professed in countries where all other religions are condemned by law. In your devotional books, and in such books as are intended to keep up the warmth of attachment to your religious party, I recognise every feature of the religion in which I was educated; in those intended for the public at large I only find a flattered and almost ideal portrait of those, to me, well-known features which, *unchanged and unsoftened by age, the writers are conscious cannot be seen without disgust* by any of those to whom custom has not made them familiar." — *White's Practical and Internal Evidence*, pp. 29, 30. See also Phelan and O'Sullivan's "Digest of Evidence on the State of Ireland, 1824, 1825," part ii. p. 254.

That the Roman Catholic hierarchy, priesthood, and peasantry of Ireland, do exercise the most bitter and unrelenting hostility to their *heretical* fellow countrymen, is too palpable to require proof. Whether this be *merely accidental*, or the result of those bad principles above referred to, let those who doubt inquire; meanwhile, the following brief extracts may not be uninstructive.*

Testimony of Thomas Ralph. Thomas Ralph examined: —

Did you hear Mr. Connolly preach or say any thing in that chapel? — I did.

* Report of Select Committee of the House of Lords on the new plan of education in Ireland, 1837, p. 434.

neration, as the Common Prayer Book of England was in this country. He had quoted them for

Mr. Parnell.

Did you hear him say any thing concerning the Protestant religion? — I did.

What did he say? — For one thing, he said, that the Protestant religion began in hell, and that it would end in hell.

Did he say anything about the salvation of Protestants? — No: I did not hear him say anything about that.

Did he say whether they would be finally lost or not? — That was what he was about: what he was saying was, that that religion had no foundation; that it was a new religion from the time of Luther; and that it began in hell, and that it would end in hell.

Did he say any thing that meant that persons who belonged to the Protestant religion would go to hell or not? — Yes: he did say that they would go to hell; and before I left the Church of Rome, I often heard that said by priests.

Did he say any thing about persons who worked for the Protestant settlement? — He did.

What did he say? — He was blaming the people for going to work there, and represented them as one going before the devil, and the devil having two half-crowns on his two horns, and that the man who would go to work there was just completely equal to the man that would take down the half-crowns from the devil's horns, and fall down and worship him, or thank him.

Did he say that, as a reason to deter people from working at the Protestant settlement? — He did: that is my opinion.

Did it appear to you, at the time, clearly, that that was his meaning? — Yes; I know it was.

Did he, at the same time, forbid persons to sell to the Protestant settlement? — Yes, he did; he told them not to have any communication with them; *not to buy or sell, or even speak* a word with them.

Did you hear him say that? — I did.

Mr. Parnell. the purpose of showing that the Roman Catholics of Ireland did not maintain any principles contrary to the constitution of their country.

Dr. M'Hale. Did Dr. M'Hale say any thing when this sermon was over? — He got up; and it seemed to me that he confirmed this, or approved of what he heard, in some words that I cannot recollect now.

He got up and signified his approval? — Yes.

Thomas M'Nulty. Again, at p. 440. Thomas M'Nulty is examined: —

Do you recollect any advice he gave to the people at that time? — Yes, I do.

Was it in his sermons? — Yes.

What did he say? — He gave orders to his congregation, that any person, Protestant or reader from the settlement, who would come to them to the field, where they were at work, whatever they would have in their hands, if it was a spade, to strike them with it; and he likewise told them, if they went to their houses, if it was a pitchfork they had in their hands, to stick them.

Mr. Conolly. Did you ever hear Mr. Conolly tell his congregation that they should persecute the Protestants generally? — I did: I heard him say that which I said before.

Rev. E. Nangle. Have you attended Mr. Nangle's sermons often? — I have.

Have you ever heard him tell his people how they should behave to the Roman Catholics? — I heard him say that they ought to return good for evil. On another occasion, when Dr. M'Hale visited Achill, the following formed part of one of his pastoral addresses: —

"I call upon you to make a solemn promise this day, not to have anything to do with them. I call upon the mountains and sea to witness this promise. You must erect, in this very spot, a monument which, whenever you see it, will remind you of your promise to me this day. *There is no place outside of hell which more enrages the Almighty than the Protestant colony.*

Mr. William Smith thought that in an anomalous government like that of Ireland, a Protestant government, taking from the large body of the Catholics all the tithes of the country, was at least bound to provide instruction for those Catholics, and that their instruction should be in the hands of the government. The word "toleration" had been very much abused. He adverted to the conduct of Catharine de Medicis, two centuries ago, who, though herself a most intolerant persecutor, and the author of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, yet her last advice to her son and successor was, to establish among his subjects freedom of religion. She had tried persecution in vain, was convinced of her error, and fully persuaded that differences in religion could never be settled by force. Mr. William Smith.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer protested against the entertaining of any such belief as that he wished to withhold instruction from the Roman Catholics of Ireland: all he wished to do was, to protect the Protestants against the increased and increasing influence of the priesthood. He confessed he had opposed the extension of this grant during the last Parliament; but he now thought it better — as he believed he was the only person in His Majesty's government who had seriously opposed it — to accede to the proposition of his honourable friend, lest his opposition should appear the effect of spleen, in endeavouring to make this the only exception The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

from the acceding to the grants of the last Parliament. He believed, however, the present was the first instance in which the House, on the application of the party alone, without any investigation in a committee, had granted such an increase as was proposed during the last Parliament. Had the House gone into a committee, was it possible it could have come to the resolution of extending the Romish priests in Ireland to double their present number? Was this the way to extend the Protestant religion in that country? Only one hundred Protestant clergy were educated there annually; yet it was proposed to raise the number of Catholic priests to four times that number. The Honourable Member for Norwich (W. Smith) had talked as if these priests had been under the care of government. This was a mistake: all that government had to do in the matter was to bear the expense of the establishment. He submitted, that if this establishment was to be increased, the least thing which could be done was to give government some say in the institution, that they might know the manner in which the studies were conducted — have the nomination of professors, or at least, in some shape or other, know that they were not educating a society of Jesuits, who would not be suffered to exist in any other part of Europe. We ought to know that the foreigners who might be employed in this seminary were not in actual hostility to us, and that they were *not likely to instil principles inimical to us into the minds of*

those whom they were called on to instruct. He, on the whole, could not help thinking that in increasing the establishment in question, we were not only sowing the seeds of continuance for the Catholic religion in Ireland, but, in fact, were doing what we could to root the Protestant religion out of the country. The students of the Protestant Church, as he had already said, amounted only to one hundred yearly; those educated by this eleemosynary institution to the Catholic persuasion already amounted to two hundred; and it was proposed to double them, or to make them amount to four times the number of the Protestant students, thereby giving the Catholic religion a fourfold advantage over the Protestant.

Lord H. Petty said, if a Roman Catholic establishment in Ireland was allowed, they must have an education; and the question was, whether that was to be in Ireland or out of it; or whether they should have any education at all? The Right Honourable Gentleman talked as if they were shut up from the knowledge of government; but surely he knew there were five visitors appointed by Act of Parliament, who were to make a visitation once in three years, or at any time on the requisition of the Lord Lieutenant. Let the education be open and manly, not clandestine and mysterious, as it had formerly been. At any rate, if the means for instructing the Protestant clergy for Ireland were deemed too small, let not the means of instructing the Roman Catholic clergy

Lord H. Petty.

therefore suffer. Let it not be a contest which class should be kept in the greater ignorance; but let it be rather an emulation how to diffuse over the whole country the greatest possible civilisation and instruction.

Sir J. Leslie Foster.

Sir J. Leslie Foster (member for the University of Dublin) said, that of the establishment of Maynooth, as a substitution for St. Omer, he entirely approved; but the addition now asked for, he could not help thinking, was, in effect, to do no less than double the establishment. As to the Dublin seminary, the excellent system of learning adopted there had certainly induced a number of the Catholic gentry to send their sons to that college. He believed the number of Roman Catholic students considerably above forty. Those young gentlemen pursued the same course of studies for four years with their Protestant fellow-students; and on returning to their families, had a more friendly, liberal, and just idea of what a Protestant was, than they originally had, or perhaps could have otherwise obtained. At the same time, that college could not forget the origin and nature of its institution. The gentlemen on the opposite benches were, he was sure, too well versed in Irish history not to know that the Dublin College was founded upon Protestant principles by Elizabeth, and for the growth and dissemination of the Protestant religion. It was, in fact, a Protestant garrison, in a land of Catholics; and the learned and respectable characters

at the head of the government of that college had uniformly acted up to the true spirit of its institution. In the reign of James II., the stand that college made for her civil and religious liberties would remain upon honourable record; and the late spirit of religious moderation that induced her to forbear from taking any part in the disputes of the day, proved that she could forget her resentments, as well as remember her obligations.

Mr. Dillon. *Mr. Dillon* read a statement with reference to the number of sinecure livings in Ireland, without glebe-houses or residences.

Sir J. Newport. *Sir J. Newport* defended the way in which the grant had been introduced.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer. *The Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in answer to what had fallen from an Honourable Member (Mr. Dillon), assured that Honourable Gentleman that the attention of government should be earnestly and anxiously directed to the abuse complained of, with respect to the want of glebe-houses, and sinecure livings.

Lord Howick. *Lord Howick* did not mean to protract the debate, — but would challenge the Right Honourable Gentleman to state an instance in which the late government had neglected the Church in that country.

Mr. Foster. *Mr. Foster* vindicated himself from a charge made against him by the Noble Lord, that his conduct evinced a culpable carelessness and levity; and would say, that the Noble Lord, in

charging him with levity, had been guilty not only of levity, but ignorance.

Colonel Barry. *Colonel Barry* said a few words against the policy of continuing the grant in future.

Mr. Sheridan. *Mr. Sheridan* congratulated the late administration on the honourable testimony they had received from the gentleman who had just sat down.

Colonel Barry. *Colonel Barry* replied to some remarks of Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. Sheridan. *Mr. Sheridan* stated his unbounded confidence in the late administration.

Dr. Duigenan. *Dr. Duigenan* denied that the late administration had manifested any solicitude to promote the interests of the Protestant religion in Ireland.

Lord Howick. *Lord Howick* spoke, vindicating the late administration.

Lord Milton. *Lord Milton* observed, that recent events which had occurred on the Continent must have been excluded from the consideration of those gentleman who had asserted that the number thought necessary in 1795 would not be sufficient.

Mr. Grattan. *Mr. Grattan* said the argument by the gentlemen on the other side avowed, would militate not only against the proposed increase of the institution, but against its original establishment. It was absurd to say that the same number of Roman Catholic clergymen would suffice for Ireland now, that was thought requisite in 1795; for that would be to suppose the population at a stand. There were no less than 2400 parishes and 1100 benefices in Ireland; and if

so many clergymen were appointed to instruct one million of Protestants, (or rather half that number, for the other half, at least, of those denominated Protestants, belonged to the different classes of dissenters,) how could two hundred clergymen be considered competent to perform the ecclesiastical duties of Catholicity to three millions of people? The idea was preposterous; and as to expense, the Catholics were in general unable to educate their clergy, and they must be educated at the public expense, or be ignorant, and a disgrace to Christianity. The expense was trifling, and the object was material. Would any friend to toleration, in common policy, starve religion to save the Treasury 5000*l.*? Some, said the Right Honourable Gentleman, affect to say that the great body of the Irish people are mere savages. I will not defend the Irish against such a charge; but I will defend you. If Ireland, after having been so many centuries connected with you, has not learned enough, at least, to rescue it from the savage state, while the world has been progressively improving, its connection with your country has not been a blessing, but a nuisance. "I will never hear," added the Right Honourable Gentleman, "any reflections cast upon the morals or manners of my country, without rising to resist it. I shall always protest against any reflections upon a country to which I owe so much — to which you owe so much — which is

Mr. Grattan.

still ready to serve you, and from which, I trust, you will continue to derive the most active and ardent support."

The resolution was then agreed to.

Debate of 29th April, 1808.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.*—The House having resolved itself into a Committee of Supply,

Mr. Foster.

Mr. Foster rose to move the resolution for a grant to Maynooth College. The grant, in former years, had been 8000*l.* Last year it had been increased to 13,000*l.*, for the purpose of enabling that institution to erect buildings capable of containing fifty additional students. It was his intention to move, in addition to the 8,000*l.* of former years, by which two hundred students had been maintained, an additional sum for the maintenance of the fifty new students; he therefore moved, "That a sum not exceeding 9250*l.* Irish currency, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the expenses of the Roman Catholic Seminary in Ireland for the current year."

Sir John Newport.

Sir John Newport moved to leave out the sum 9000*l.*, for the purpose of substituting 13,000*l.*

In the original establishment of the College of Maynooth two hundred students were then educated. That was when Europe was in a state of tranquillity. The last administration had thought it right to augment the number of students at Maynooth to four hundred, and he

* Cobbett's Debates, vol. xi. p. 89. (29th April, 1808.)

was at a loss to conceive why it was intended to depart from that plan. Did the House wish the Catholic priesthood of Ireland to be composed of uneducated men? It was of the most serious importance to the Irish community that the priests should be well-educated men, and that they should receive that education at home; especially under the present circumstances, when all Europe was under the dominion of Buonaparte. It was a well-known fact that the Irish Catholic students at Lisbon had some time ago received an invitation to the Catholic institution at Paris. On this invitation being signified to the dignified Catholic ecclesiastics of Ireland, they expressed their determination to exclude from the priesthood any student who should transfer himself from Lisbon to Paris. Was this a proper return for such conduct? Nothing could be more infatuated than at that moment to take a step so decidedly hostile to the Catholic clergy. By such a step the Catholics will neither be made Protestants nor better subjects. Sir John Newport.

The Right Honourable Baronet read several papers in support of his sentiments, and deprecated the consequences which must ensue from the system that seemed to be adopted on this subject by His Majesty's present administration. Sir A. Wellesley.

Sir A. Wellesley declared that the ground on which he was induced to concur in the motion of his right honourable friend was his conviction

Sir A. Welles-ley. that the number of priests who would be educated at the College of Maynooth would, according to his right honourable friend's proposition — added to those educated in other parts of Ireland, of whom the Right Honourable Baronet had taken no notice, — be fully adequate for the purposes for which they were required. As far as he understood, the number of Catholic priests necessary in Ireland was 2000; 111 students were educated in different parts of that island, which he enumerated; these, added to the 250 which it was proposed to educate at Maynooth, made 361. The term of education was seven years; but frequently it did not extend beyond *five*. Supposing, therefore, that, on the average, fifty students would annually become fit for ordination, he conceived that this number would be sufficient to keep up the necessary establishment. *The fact was, that when the Maynooth institution was first established, it was not intended that it should be maintained by the public purse. The memorial presented previously to the foundation of that establishment prayed for a charter, in order that their funds might be better secured.* With respect to the 478 Catholic students, who, according to the Right Honourable Baronet, were educated on the Continent before the French Revolution — the fact was, that most of them received priests' orders BEFORE they went abroad. It would be found, upon inquiry, that about 300 of them supported themselves, when abroad, by the exercise of their functions as priests.

Mr. Ponsonby observed, that instead of 2000 Catholic priests necessary for Ireland, as stated by the Right Honourable Baronet, he had always understood that 3000 were required. If, however, there were any error in the computation, on which side was it preferable that that error should be? Was it preferable that there should be too many or too few? The Catholics, as a favour, asked this monstrous sum of 3750*l.*, to put the foundation of Maynooth on a footing calculated to furnish a sufficient number of well-educated men for the Church in Ireland. Was it wise to refuse them such a favour? To how many worse purposes would the House vote away money in the course of the present session? If the House wished wholly to discountenance the Catholic religion in Ireland, let them not vote a shilling for this purpose; but if they grant anything, let them grant enough, and let them grant it in a manner which will not be insulting to those by whom it was to be received. Considering the influence which the clergy in every country and of every persuasion had over the people, it was wise in statesmen to keep the clergy at least in good humour with them. On this subject he was convinced that the Irish Protestants and Catholics were of the same sentiments, and that if we were to poll opinions in Ireland, there would be at least 100 to 1 in favour of his honourable friend's amendment. Mr. Ponsonby.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer disclaimed having ever stated a principle of economy as the The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

ground of the part he had felt it his duty to take on the subject of this grant. On the contrary, he was of opinion that a saving of three, five, or ten thousand pounds a year should not be any consideration to impede a measure of great and important public advantage. He was convinced that the generous mind of the Right Honourable Gentleman was incapable of upposing that he felt a pleasure in refusing a boon to so large a proportion of the people of Ireland. For himself, he had no such sentiment; and when, from the perhaps mistaken view he had of the subject — for he did not think himself infallible — he was bound to refuse a grant that would be agreeable to a large portion of His Majesty's subjects, it was always to him a painful duty. As to the assertion, that the vote he was to give was dictated by bigotry or intolerance, he could not admit that it could be ascribed to either. It was no part of religious *toleration* to make a *provision* for the education of the clergy of the tolerated sect. If it were so, they ought to go much farther: for the ministers of the Methodists, Anabaptists, and Quakers would, on that ground, have as good a claim to education as the Catholic clergy; for, in this respect, numbers made no difference. The present question, therefore, was one unconnected with intolerance. It was the duty of the state to provide for the education of the ministers of the religion of its own establishment; but the same obligation did

not apply to other sects. All that *toleration* required with respect to them was, that no difficulty should be created to any measure they might take for their own education. On every question for an increase of grant it was fit to consider what was the amount of what was enjoyed before. It was particularly desirable, after the establishment of the connection of this country with the Irish Catholics since the Union, that the grant of the Irish Parliament should not be diminished. The fact was, that by the vote then under consideration that grant was to be extended to a provision for one fourth more than were educated heretofore. It appeared, besides, that 111 others were educated for the Catholic priesthood in different parts of Ireland. If he had his choice, he should prefer an education for them in *open seminaries in different parts of the country*, where their intercourse with their friends would not be precluded, *to the institution of one great monastic establishment*, in which they would be debarred all access to their friends. This institution had been supported from its foundation by public grants, which *left the funds originally intended for it* applicable to *other* institutions in different parts of the country. There was no impediment to the Roman Catholics, if they chose to employ their own funds for this purpose. But if, in consequence of the increased grant, a number of hungry pensioners (as the Right Honourable Gentleman had designated them) should be

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

thrown upon the Catholic body, would not the next step be an application for a provision for them? It had been said, but not made out in argument, that seven years were necessary for the education of the Catholic clergy; but, on the contrary, it appeared from the papers that most of the clergy had left the college in *four years* or less. On the whole, he thought that the supply of 361 would be sufficient to meet the demand of the Catholic clergy; and, therefore, should vote for the proposition of his right honourable friend.

Mr. Ponsonby. *Mr. Ponsonby* insisted that there had been an understanding between the government and the Catholics that a sum should be granted to this institution, sufficient to defray the expenses of educating 400 students; and therefore he maintained that the present grant was a curtailed grant.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer. *The Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that whatever might have been the understanding between the Catholics and the government, of which the Right Honourable Gentleman was a member, Parliament did not stand committed by any such pledge.

Mr. W. Elliot. *Mr. W. Elliot* begged leave to explain how the matter really stood. The grant to the College of Maynooth, previous to the Union, was only 8,000*l.* The late administration, on the recommendation of the trustees, proposed to augment the grant to 13,000*l.*, and the last Par-

liament had actually voted this sum. Before this vote, however, could be carried into effect, Parliament was dissolved; and when the new Parliament met, His Majesty's ministers wished to resort to the former sum; but finding that the trustees had in one instance acted on the faith of receiving the larger sum, they had, in one instance, carried into execution the intention of their predecessors. Now, however, it was pretty evident that a compromise had taken place between conflicting opinions. It was probable that the question had been discussed in the cabinet; that there was a difference of opinion respecting it, the terrors of Popery falling more lightly upon the heads of some members of it than of others; and that they had resorted to an expedient, not very uncommon in private life, called "splitting the difference." As to the statement of the Right Honourable Gentleman, that it was unprecedented to provide for the education of the ministers of a religion not that of the state, he observed, that the state of the Irish Catholics was an extraordinary anomaly. They might wish the case to be otherwise, but they were to take the country as it was, and give it as much moral and political improvement as it was capable of. Gentlemen might talk of restraint; but that had been the principle of the penal code, and had failed. They might degrade the Catholics; Mr. W. Elliot.

they might make them bad Catholics, bad Christians, or bad subjects; but they could not by such means make them Protestants. There was no effectual mode of improving the condition of Ireland, but by instructing and enlightening the clergy and the people of the Catholic persuasion. As to the superior clergy of the Catholics, no persons could possess more real piety, exemplary morality, and sound political principles; and as to the parochial clergy, he believed that most of them performed their functions with fidelity and credit. If there were any exceptions, they arose from the want of proper education. He thought that every means ought to be employed to give the Catholic clergy an education, with native habits and feelings, and deprecated the impolicy of retracting any part of the former grant.

Mr. Grattan. *Mr. Grattan* contended that a provision for 250 students would be insufficient, and that the deficiency would be left to be supplied by the chances of private or foreign charity. The education in the other seminaries that had been referred to — being only preparatory for the college — was no education for the priesthood. By reducing the grant the House would be securing the ignorance and inveterate prejudices of a great portion of the Catholics. Proselytism was not to be expected under such circumstances. Religious conformity was im-

practicable; and political conformity, which was not in their power, they would destroy by the course proposed. If provision be not made for their education at home, they must seek it abroad: they would then bring back with them foreign connections and foreign obligations. Why did we fear the Catholic religion? Was it not because of the foreign connections it involved? And while the spirit of Buonaparte pervaded the whole of the Continent, was that a time for keeping up the connection? The students would there acquire the same deistical principles and political antipathies that would spread everywhere around them, and would therefore return religious Deists and political Catholics, to the great danger of overthrowing the government. It was true that neither the ministers of the Methodists nor of the Quakers were educated at the public expense; but they were few in comparison, while the Catholics formed the great body of the people in Ireland. He doubted whether the priests had as much absolute influence over the people of Ireland as was supposed. If they wished the Catholics of Ireland to be well conducted, they should make their priests objects, not of contempt, but of veneration. They might civilise the people of Ireland, but could not make them Protestants. The saving proposed was very contemptible. The Catholics would gain by the Mr. Grattan.

larger grant, — the Protestants would not lose; and the public would sustain no injury by it. On the whole, therefore, he should give his support to the amendment of his right honourable friend.

Mr. Croker. *Mr. Croker* gave his vote for the smaller sum, because the 250 students, for whose education the sum was adequate to provide, was amply sufficient to supply the vacancies in 2000 parishes. He stated that 369 persons had been educated at the College of Maynooth, and that one fifth of these had not taken religious orders, but had adopted other professions. He likewise objected generally to the principles of the Maynooth institution, because, from the circumstance of the education being entirely gratuitous, the students were persons from the lowest ranks of life: and if this were not the case, the higher classes of those who belonged to the Roman Catholic persuasion would bring up their sons as clergymen; of which at present there were few or no instances.

Mr. M. Fitzgerald. *Mr. M. Fitzgerald* thought it extremely impolitic to hazard the irritation of the Catholics of Ireland for the sake of the paltry sum of 3750*l.* If the Union had not taken place, he contended that the establishment at Maynooth would have been enlarged by the Irish legislature. The establishment was conducted with the most rigid economy, and the only effect of the paltry saving that ministers now had in view

would be to prolong the reign of ignorance, and to render the Irish priests the instruments of the people's fanaticism.

Mr. Parnell vindicated the Roman Catholic clergy, and read extracts from documents in the year 1793, when Defenderism broke out in Ireland, and in 1798, the period of the late Rebellion, to prove their loyalty and peaceful demeanour. The question being now loudly called for, the committee divided: — Mr. Parnell.

For the larger grant of 13,000*l.*	- 58
For the lesser of 9250*l.* -	- 93 *
Majority -	- 35

* List of the Minority.

Abercromby, J.	Elliott, W.
Anstruther, Sir J.	Fitzgerald, Lord H.
Bagenal, W.	Fitzgerald, M.
Baring, A.	Fitzgerald, J.
Bewick, C.	Fitzpatrick, R.
Biddulph, R. M.	French, A.
Bowyer, Sir T.	Gower, Earl
Brend, T.	Grattan, H.
Calcraft, J.	Halsey, J.
Calvert, N.	Hamilton, Lord A.
Cavendish, Lord G.	Herbert, A.
Cocks, E. C.	Hippisley, Sir J. C.
Colborne, N. W. R.	Howard, W.
Combe, H. C.	Hughes, W. L.
Cowper, E. S.	Laing, M.
Creevey, T.	Lambe, W.
Dundas, C. L.	Latouche, J.
Ebrington, Viscount	Latouche, R.

Debate of 5th May, 1808.* Mr. Wharton.

Mr. Wharton brought up the report of the Committee of Supply relative to the grant of 9250*l.* for the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. On the question, "That the resolution be agreed to,"—

Sir J. Newport.

Sir J. Newport contended that the reduction of the grant of last year was calculated to irritate the great body of the Catholics, and particularly to alienate the priests, whose influence had been so much talked of. The question was, whether the priests should be educated or uneducated, for priests would be at all events found. The reason why the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry did not educate their sons for the *priesthood* was because it afforded them neither prospects of *honours* or *emolument.* He did not think this a fit time for any reduction in the

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Lawrence, F.	Porchester, Lord
Longman, G.	Prittie, Hon. F. A.
Martin, H.	Pym, F.
Montgomery, J.	Quin, W. H.
Moore, P.	Russell, Lord W.
Morpeth, Viscount	Smith, W.
Newport, Sir J.	Smith, J.
North, D.	Somerville, Sir M.
Ossulton, Lord	Tierney, G.
Parnell, H.	Wardell, G. L.
Petty, Lord H.	Whitbread, S.
Piggott, Sir A.	Windham, W.
Ponsonby, G.	

* Cobbett's Parl. Debates, vol. xi. p. 121. (Thursday, May 5. 1808.)

grant, and therefore he moved that the report be recommitted.

Sir A. Wellesley.

Sir A. Wellesley stated, in reply, that when he had asserted, in a former debate, that the Catholics had originally proposed to support this institution, he had done so *on the authority of their original memorial to government, a copy of which had been furnished him by Dr. Troy.* This memorial was dated the 14th of January, 1794, and showed that the object in the contemplation of the Catholics at that time was to be *permitted to establish the institution with their own funds.*

Colonel Montagu Mathew.

Colonel Montagu Mathew observed, that the private seminaries were only preparatory schools for the College of Maynooth. After alluding to the offer made by Buonaparte to induce Irish students to go for education to France, from Lisbon and Ireland, and the conduct of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops respecting it, he asked, if any would say, after that, that the Catholics were not to be confided in? If they were not to be trusted, why not dismiss them from the army and navy? Why allow them to vote at elections?

Mr. C. Wynne.

Mr. C. Wynne lamented the secret influence by which the measures of the government were defeated, and the interests of the country sacrificed. If any one duty was more imperious than another upon that House, it was that of providing

for the education of the great body of His Majesty's subjects in Ireland.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer disclaimed the odious principle of intolerance. The memorial of the Catholics, which led to the establishment of Maynooth, claimed no pecuniary aid. The Catholics promised to defray the whole expense themselves; and though the government and parliament gave them 8000*l.* in aid of the object, that was no reason that the country should be subject to constantly increasing demands, for a purpose of which there was no precedent in any age or country,—that of educating at the public expense the priesthood of a religion differing widely from the established one. He thought it was as much as reasonably could be asked, to educate 250 persons at the public expense, who, with 111 educated in a private manner, were an abundant supply for the Catholic ministry. He took this opportunity to deny all knowledge of any interposition of a high personage to influence the conduct of His Majesty's ministers upon this question, and declared, on the faith and honour of a man, his firm belief that no such influence had been exercised in any quarter.

Lord H. Petty.

Lord H. Petty.—The money which was the subject of the present debate was in amount little to give, but was every thing to refuse. The principle of the education of the Catholic clergy had received the countenance of the nominal head of the present administration, who, if he

preserved a shred of any principle, was bound to support it now. It had also received the countenance of Lord Westmoreland and Lord Camden, both members of the present cabinet, when in the situation of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It had been sanctioned by the Reverend Lord Cornwallis, the respected Lord Hardwicke, and the late Governor of Ireland.

Mr. Wilberforce.

Mr. Wilberforce considered the present as a subject of considerable delicacy; and the difficulties arising out of the subject itself were not a little aggravated by the manner in which it had been discussed, and which tended to produce irritation rather than conciliation. He should have expected something better from the patriotism of the Noble Lord, and of those with whom he acted; and it was not without very great pain that he had heard the mode of argument to which they had this evening resorted. *Toleration*, he said, as explained both by Mr. Locke and Rousseau, was to leave to others the right of professing and teaching their own religious principles in their own way, as far as was compatible with the peace and security of society. This degree of toleration was denied to Ireland some years ago, but it was now extended to that country; and as far as an establishment was supported at the public expense, for the purpose of instructing a particular class, differing in sentiment from the established religion of the country, we went *beyond the bounds of toleration*, and instead of

acting upon the principles of bigotry and intolerance, we exercised a degree of liberality unknown in any other country. When he recollected the history of past times, it was impossible for him not to be jealous of the Roman Catholic religion. *We could not judge of the nature and tendency of this religion from its influence on certain individuals of high rank, whose minds were liberalised by intercourse with the most refined classes of society.* The only way to judge of it was to see its effects upon the great bulk of the people. No man was a greater enemy to persecution or a greater friend to *toleration* than he was; but he hoped to be forgiven for entertaining some solicitude that the Protestant religion should at least have fair play.

Lord Milton. *Lord Milton* was as warm a friend to the Protestant religion as his honourable colleague, and it was because he was a friend to Protestantism that he wished to enlighten the Catholics, for this was the most likely means of gaining them over to the Protestant faith.

Mr. Laing. *Mr. Laing* contended that the present was not a question of toleration or of bigotry, but of pure legislation. It was only by conferring benefits upon the Roman Catholics that their affections could be gained, and that they could be rendered good and loyal subjects.

Mr. Herbert and Lord Porchester. *Mr. Herbert of Kerry* and *Lord Porchester* supported the grant of the larger sum.

Mr. Ponsonby observed, that the toleration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to go the length of 9000*l.*; but whenever 13,000*l.* was talked of, the establishment would step in. Mr. Ponsonby.

Mr. Stephens adverted to one or two of the general objections which Protestants have to the Catholic faith, in support of his declared opinion that we could not, as members of a Protestant community, consistently or conscientiously educate clergymen for the Catholic Church, — a ground on which he would have opposed that particular mode of our assisting the Catholics of Ireland, if the question of founding the Maynooth College were then before the House; and on the same principle felt himself bound to oppose the further, and, as he conceived, needless, extension of that establishment. He was sure that the feelings of sincere and pious Papists would revolt at the idea of educating at their own charge clergymen for the Church of England, to propagate what they deemed heretical doctrines; and sincere Protestants, who regarded the distinguishing tenets and rites of the Church of Rome as corruptions of Christianity, were bound, on the same principle, not to be directly instrumental in teaching what, in a religious view, they deemed to be dangerous errors, by educating men for the Catholic priesthood. At the same time, however, he would strongly reprobate every degree of intolerance in religion, and disclaimed not only the vile principle of persecution, but the Mr. Stephens.

illiberality of disliking or forming harsh judgments of men, on account of their errors in faith. For his part, he respected and regarded a man, of whatever denomination of Christians, when he found him sincere and earnest in the religion which he professed. Towards the Catholics of Ireland, in particular, he declared that he felt nothing but good will, and a disposition to conciliate their affections to their Protestant fellow subjects by all practicable means. In his sincere opinion, pious Catholics must rather feel unfavourable sentiments towards us than gratitude and attachment, on the score of this very objectionable mode of assistance, and that it was calculated rather to injure than serve the Protestant cause in Ireland; for it would be an argument, not easily to be answered, against our sincerity in our religious tenets, and against all those civil distinctions which had occasioned discontent, and of which the Catholics of Ireland till lately had too much reason to complain, *that Protestants thought the difference between the two churches so immaterial as to train up clergymen, at their own expense, to teach the Roman faith.*

Mr. Grattan. *Mr. Grattan* was sorry to see gentlemen enter so largely into an attack on the religion of one fifth of the subjects of these kingdoms. He believed they spoke in the sincerity of their hearts, and from the purest motives; but these would produce consequences deadly to the in-

terests of this country, and advantageous to France.

Dr. Duigenan read *the oath of the Catholic priests, in order to show that they paid an obedience to the Pope which was inconsistent with the king's supremacy*, and proceeded to describe the Catholics as bad subjects, and hostile to the state. Dr. Duigenan.

Mr. Barham rose to order, objecting to the use of such language in speaking of four millions of His Majesty's subjects. Mr. Barham.

The Speaker having declared that the freedom of debate did not exclude such language,— The Speaker.

Dr. Duigenan repeated his former sentiments, and declared that, if any one would move to withdraw the public aid altogether from Maynooth, he would second the motion. Dr. Duigenan.

Mr. W. Smith proceeded in ironical terms to congratulate the councils of his Majesty, and the British empire, on the wisdom and liberality they were likely to acquire in the person of the learned gentleman who had just sat down. Mr. W. Smith.

Mr. Barham expressed his abhorrence of the language used by Dr. Duigenan, declaring that never words were uttered so dangerous, abominable, and false, or so likely to separate the kingdom, and to deluge it in blood. Of the religion of the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) he had at times been inclined to think well; but if bigotry and Protestantism had so much blinded him that he could not see that the Catholics wor- Mr. Barham.

shipped the same God with himself, his was not a religion in which he (Mr. B.) would either wish to live or be content to die.

A discussion then followed, in which Mr. Tierney, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir A. Wellesley took part; and the House divided on the question, "That the resolution be read a second time." Ayes 106, Noes 82.

Mr. Tierney. On the question, "That the resolution be finally agreed to," being put, *Mr. Tierney* moved that it be postponed to a future day, in order that all the cabinet ministers might be present. The numbers upon this were, Ayes 82, Noes 112. The other orders were postponed, and the House adjourned.

Debate of 1811.

Mr. Hutchinson. On the 27th of March, on the Irish Miscellaneous Services being brought up, *Mr. Hutchinson* entered into a long discussion, showing the origin of the institution, the narrow scale of expenditure for professors and students, the inadequacy of the present grant, &c.; dilating, at length, on the great learning and generous hospitality which had characterised the Irish nation, even in the dark ages; and observing, that the increased grant could not be refused on a principle of economy, for, on looking to their other grants, they would see nothing but luxury, extravagance, and profusion. He should therefore move for a recommittal of the resolution.

Mr. Herbert. *Mr. Herbert* of *Kerry* seconded the motion.

Sir T. Turton submitted to the House that the amount of the grant had been fairly contrasted with the other items voted on the present occasion. Sir T. Turton.

Mr. P. Moore contended that the end of all good governments was for the benefit of the governed; instead of which, it seemed, here, to be the object to separate the government from the governed, and to render their interests completely independent of each other. This was a thing to be deplored, and it was a calamity daily growing on us. Mr P. Moore.

The House then divided: —

For the recommittal of the resolution	12
For the original resolution -	30
Majority for the resolution -	18

IRISH MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.—*Mr. Pole* next proposed the grant of 8973*l.* for the support of the Catholic college at Maynooth. Debate of 9th March, 1812. Mr. Pole.

Sir J. Newport observed, that though this grant had so often been brought under the consideration of Parliament, he felt himself bound again to bring it under their attention, contending that, as the population of Ireland was so rapidly increasing, it was incumbent upon the House to make some addition to the grant proposed, as the College of Maynooth, conducted on the present scale, was totally inadequate to supply the religious instruction of the Catholics Sir J. Newport.

in Ireland. The present grant was sufficient for the education only of 200 students, whose course of education required five years each on an average; and he could not see why the grant should not now revert to the 13,000*l.* a year, which was voted some years ago. He would only add, that there was no priesthood in Europe which paid more exemplary attention both to the temporal and spiritual interests of their flocks than the Catholic clergy of Ireland: they necessarily, and he believed most deservedly, possessed great influence over their people; and therefore it was for the general good of society that this body of men should be well educated and instructed. With these impressions, he should move that instead of 9000*l.*, the sum of 13,000*l.* be inserted.

Mr. Secretary Ryder.

Mr. Secretary Ryder was prepared to resist this enlargement of the original grant; and if this had been the first time of proposing the grant itself, he did not hesitate to say that he would vote against it. He did not wish to debar the professors of any religion of its most enlarged and liberal toleration; but he was not for giving a hostile religion the power of making proselytes; and this, he conceived, had been the effect of the establishment of Maynooth College. He would not, under existing circumstances, go the length of voting that the original grant should be taken away; but he most solemnly and seriously assured the House that, acting on the

principles which he professed, if the present had been a call on the House for money for the purpose of endowing a Roman Catholic college, he would not give a single pound towards it.

Colonel Dillon. *Colonel Dillon* declared, that he never felt more astonishment nor indignation than he did at hearing what had just fallen from the Right Honourable Gentleman: one good, however, must result from it, namely, that Ireland would be able to judge of the spirit and temper of the ministry to which he belonged; and to see how willing the minister was to add to their burdens, and how unwilling to lessen or alleviate their grievances.*

Mr. Herbert. *Mr. Herbert* of Kerry supported the enlarged grant, denying that any system of proselytism had been promoted by the establishment of Maynooth College; and asserting that there were six converts from the Catholics to every one from among the Protestants.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer. *The Chancellor of the Exchequer* opposed the amendment, not because he considered the enlargement of any consequence in an economical point of view, but because he was against the principle of the grant altogether: at the same

* The preceding votes in the *Irish Miscellaneous Services*, best repel this insinuation, and show with what readiness grants of money were made for Ireland, as for other parts of the empire, when good might be calculated on as resulting from them.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

time, from the commencement of this establishment, Parliament had granted for its support about 160,000*l.*; and that was no paltry pittance. According to the Right Honourable Baronet's calculation, the number of priests required every year was fifty-nine; and was it not enough for the public to educate forty out of that number? He supported the grant as it stood, because it was one of those which the Parliament of Ireland thought wise to preserve at the Union *; because he found it, in fact, given over to England as part of the Union. If the grant had been fairly open to opposition after the Union, he certainly should have been disposed to resist it; because he thought, on principle, that it was wrong for a state endeavouring to establish a particular system of religion, to provide a public supply for the maintenance, encouragement, and propagation of another. The House now supported, charitably, forty out of the fifty-nine priests said to be necessary for the Irish Catholics; and he contended that so much was not proportionably done in the same way for the education of persons for the Protestant church establishment. Why did not the wealthy Catholics come forward and educate their clergy without calling on the state? All the refined and deliberate

* Whatever force or validity there may have been in these remarks, their effect is now taken away. The observations of Sir R. Inglis upon this point will put the question in a clear light. See *post.*

study, mentioned by the Right Honourable Baronet, was not necessary for Irish priests; they did not want more education, surely, than was possessed by the clergymen in the distant parts of England and Wales. He begged gentlemen to look at home, unless they wished, by an excess of grants, to make Maynooth College equal to Dublin, Cambridge, or Oxford university.

Mr. Grattan was not aware of the strength of the Right Honourable Gentleman's argument, that, because we adopted the original grant, therefore we were not obliged ever to enlarge it. If once the principle was adopted, the limitation of the sum was only to be fixed by the circumstances of the times: to act otherwise, was nominally to adopt, and ultimately to defeat, the principle. The House should recollect that the Catholic population paid for the Protestant establishment; and it was extremely just that something should be given to them. Catholics were Christians as well as Protestants, and every attempt to destroy Catholicity was an attempt against Christianity.* The question was, in fact, Mr. Grattan.

* If discharging the rights and liabilities of property is to be regarded as a claim to endowment, every sect of religion, and every party in the state, may equally demand it, till, by systems the most adverse and principles the most opposed being equally patronised and supported, the very end for which a religious establishment is endowed, or men associate in communities and submit to forms of go-

between Christianity and Deism; between foreign and domestic education. As the people increased, so increased the demand for religious instruction, and so ought the grant to be increased from which that instruction flowed. If the grant to the institution was not to be increased, then the principle of the institution was only poorly and inadequately met; half the people only could be instructed. Christianity was the title of the Irish to education; the grant was not to gratify a sect, but to cherish a branch of the Christian religion: to deny this grant was to attempt to starve the people out of their faith; which could not be successful. To deprive the people of Ireland of education was a struggle for a new victory over them. It was not only destroying their temporal rights, but their spiritual faculties; it was not only persecuting them in this world, but an endeavour to damn then in the next.

Mr. Whitbread.

Mr. Whitbread observed that he had no arguments to adduce in favour of the enlargement of this grant. The Right Honourable Secretary for the Home Department had thrown out his loose assertion with regard to the instances of proselytism merely, he imagined, for alarm.

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vernment are defeated; and confusion, anarchy, and disorder supply the place of sound government, unity, and peace.

He defied him to mention where the proselytes were made, and how many they were. He called upon the Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to follow up his intolerant principles by cutting up this establishment altogether, or to agree to the amendment of his right honourable friend.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, that the grant proposed had been regularly granted from 1801 to 1806, without any alteration being made; but in 1807, when the then administration was doing every thing in their power to encourage the Roman Catholic religion (in which they were right, as they thought it wise to do so), they in one session of Parliament procured a grant of 12,000*l.* or 13,000*l.* for the support of Maynooth College. This grant was merely the act of that Parliament, — it was not embodied in the Appropriation Act, — and consequently with that Parliament, when, shortly after, it was dissolved, it fell. After the new Parliament met, it was thought that the grant was not warranted by circumstances, and therefore he and his friends had conceived it to be their duty to return to the old one. It was for doing this, — for setting aside that which was new, and returning to the old vote, — that they were called innovators. It would now be understood what was the definition of the word *innovation*, according to the notions of the gentlemen opposite; and it would also be understood that, with

them, those who abolished a novel or new practice, to return to one which had been long established, were innovators. His opinions, however absurd they might appear on this subject, had remained what they were in 1801, and the memory of the Honourable Gentleman was not accurate, if he thought that the argument he had used that night was new. He had not supposed that there were no deaths at Maynooth; but when it was known that all these were professedly educated for the priesthood, he thought some latitude might be allowed to what he had advanced. When he said that, if the grant were enlarged, there was no knowing to what it might extend, he had not supposed that they might be called on for millions upon millions, but he thought it was not definable how far it might extend, if a line were not drawn where they now were.

Sir J. Newport.

Sir J. Newport repudiated the charge that the late administration, of which he had been a member, had done all in their power to promote the Roman Catholic religion, though it was true that every thing was done necessary to protect the injured rights of the Catholics, and, by protecting them, to maintain the general interests of the united empire. In such an attempt he (Sir J. Newport) had borne his share of the duty, and he should never be ashamed of the part he had borne.

After some further observations from *Mr.*

Whitbread, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Wynne, the question was put, and the vote for 8000*l.* agreed to without a division: the amendment of Sir J. Newport being negatived.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE. — *Sir J. Newport* inquired if the Right Honourable Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department would have any objection to produce the documents on which he founded his assertion, that persons educated at the College of Maynooth had employed undue means to make proselytes, particularly in the north of Ireland, to the Roman Catholic persuasion? March 23. 1812. Sir J. Newport.

Mr. Secretary Ryder answered, that the expressions he had employed in the debate upon this subject had been misunderstood and misrepresented. He had not stated that he had any reason to believe that persons educated at Maynooth had employed any undue means to propagate their religion. He had no hesitation in repeating what he had said upon that occasion, which was, that he wished the institution had never existed, as it had afforded the means of spreading Catholicism in districts where the Protestant faith had before been prevalent. On this ground, he had resisted the extension of the grant. Mr. Secretary Ryder.

• Cobbett's Parl. Debates, vol. xxii. p. 119. (March 23. 1812.)

Sir J. Newport. *Sir J. Newport* added, that he had taken down the words employed by the Right Honourable Gentleman at the time, and they were, "that individuals educated at the College of Maynooth had made use of the facilities they there obtained, to propagate, by undue means, the Catholic religion."

The Speaker. *The Speaker* observed, that it was contrary to order for any member to refer to expressions employed by any member on a former debate as a ground for calling for documents to prove the veracity or falsity of the assertion.

Sir J. Newport. *Sir J. Newport* then gave notice that, to-morrow, he would move for any documents on which the Right Honourable Gentleman had founded his assertion.

Debate of 13th April, 1813. Mr. Ryder. MAYNOOTH COLLEGE. — *Mr. Ryder*, in pursuance of his notice, moved "That there be laid before this House, copy of the course of instructions and lectures in divinity, dogmatical and moral, delivered at the Royal College of Maynooth in the year 1812."

Mr. W. Fitzgerald. *Mr. W. Fitzgerald* was sure the professors of that college were not only willing, but anxious, to lay such a copy before the House.

Sir J. Newport. *Sir J. Newport* contended that a compliance with the motion would only cause the table of the House to be encumbered with an

* Cobbett's Parl. Debates, vol. xxv. p. 811. (April 13. 1813.)

unwieldy volume and lists of theological lectures. He had no objection that the private curiosity of the Right Honourable Gentleman should be gratified, although he thought he might have had an opportunity to do this while he had filled the office of one of His Majesty's secretaries of state; but he supposed that then the Right Honourable Gentleman was too much engaged in digesting the Nightly Watch Bill. He objected to the motion, because it would make the House travel out of its usual course.

Mr. Peel.

Mr. Peel thought that the Right Honourable Baronet, who had often occasion to defend the tenets of the Roman Catholics, would have been happy to have had an opportunity of acceding to a motion by which their tenets might be promulgated and examined.

Mr. Wynne.

Mr. Wynne remarked that the Right Honourable Mover might as well have added, that copies should be required of all the sermons preached by Roman Catholic priests. If, however, only one member wished for the papers, it was sufficient reason why the motion should be agreed to.

Mr. Bathurst.

Mr. Bathurst observed, that as the college was maintained by the state, and was for the education of youth in a religion which was not that of the state, the House had surely a right to *know the nature of the doctrines taught in that college.* The Honourable Gentleman who had

been pleased to observe that it would be as well to move for all sermons preached by Roman Catholic priests, forgot that there was not any analogy between the doctrines taught in an institution supported by government, and the detached sermons of individual preachers.

Lord Castlereagh.

Lord Castlereagh trusted that what was wanted would not be so voluminous as some persons seemed to imagine.

Mr. Whitbread.

Mr. Whitbread said, that if the House were told that because the College of Maynooth was supported by government, therefore they had a right to know what the professors of the college taught and preached, it might as well be said, that because government paid for the support of the Church of England, it had a right to know all that its ministers taught and preached. He took the motion as it was given, and supposed that it was meant the whole lectures delivered in the college. Really it was more ludicrous than irritating, to have a motion made for the production of a mass so useless and so unwieldy. He wished the Right Honourable Mover would alter his motion, so as to put the college to less trouble, and the House to less expense.

Mr. Abercromby.

Mr. Abercromby opposed the motion in the shape in which it then was.

Mr. Whitbread.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that the motion was also unjust, because it required professors to furnish the House with matter which it might

be their intention to give to the world in the shape of a book.

Mr. Ryder was inclined to alter the nature of his motion, and to specify particularly the lectures upon divinity, dogmatical and moral. Mr. Ryder.

Lord Desart supported the motion in its original shape. Lord Desart.

Lord Castlereagh thought that the object in view would be best accomplished by the motion as originally worded: and that the nature of the motion was such that it would meet with the approbation of all the friends of the Roman Catholics. He objected to call for particular lectures. The learned body would give the documents to the House in the most acceptable shape. Lord Castlereagh.

Mr. Whitbread proposed, as an amendment, that the motion should be, for "the heads of the course of lectures." Mr. Whitbread.

Colonel Barry could not agree to this amendment, because the House did not want the heads of the lectures, but their substance. Colonel Barry.

After some further debate, the original motion was carried.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.—*Sir H. Parnell* felt it his duty to move for certain papers relative to the course of education pursued in this college, in consequence of some observations contained July 7. 1817. Sir H. Parnell.

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxxvi. p. 1306. (July 7. 1817.)

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in a note in a printed speech of an Honourable Member (Mr. J. L. Foster), and that he might have an opportunity of refuting, in the most public manner, many charges which had of late been brought against the Catholics. The charge made by the Honourable Member against this college was, that doctrines peculiar to papal Rome — inconsistent with the legitimate and necessary authority of government — were still taught at this college; that the Transalpine doctrine — the doctrine by which the Pope * in ancient times was supposed to claim a temporal authority in all Catholic countries — had but two spots in Europe on which it could rest its foot; one of these spots the Vatican, the other Maynooth. But, with every respect for the Honourable Member, he must say, that a statement more entirely destitute of foundation never was made. There was no Catholic in Ireland who did not willingly abjure this doctrine, upon every occasion on which the law required him to do so, in order to qualify himself for the exercise of any civil privileges. How, then, was it to be supposed that the teachers at this college would

* The manner in which this Protestant empire is now exposed, beyond almost all other states, to papal policy and intrigue, requires the special attention of the legislature; information of the most important character upon this subject may be derived from the "Report of the Select Committee on the Regulation of Roman Catholic Subjects in Foreign States." (June 25. 1816.)

surreptitiously teach a doctrine which they publicly declared not to be a true doctrine of the Catholic Church? The Rev. Dr. Everard and the Rev. Dr. Murray had both been presidents of it; and no one acquainted with them could say that they were advocates of the Transalpine doctrine. The papers which were presented to this House in 1813, the report of an Honourable Baronet on the foreign Catholic regulations, of last session, contain a copy of a letter from the president of the College of Maynooth to the Irish government, giving a full account of all the books and lectures that were then made use of in that college. It is also endeavoured to be shown that Catholicism in Ireland possesses a character peculiar to itself, or a nature extremely hostile to the state. It is said that the part of Europe in which the Pope possesses the most political authority is Ireland. This is a statement so likely to promote erroneous opinions, that some examination of it is absolutely necessary, to ascertain the degree of credit which belongs to it. The reasoning with which it is sustained is, that the Pope possesses an unlimited power over the Irish bishops, the Irish bishops the same kind of power over the Catholic clergy, and the Catholic clergy an unbounded authority over their flocks. But it is wholly omitted to be shown in what manner the Pope has so great a power over the Irish bishops: it does not appear that they maintain any regular corre- Sir H. Parnell.

Sir H. Parnell.

spondence with the see of Rome, that they ever receive any order from the Pope, that they acknowledge his infallibility or his possessing any temporal power; or that they either have obeyed him, or are likely to obey him, if he endeavoured to make them do any thing which was inconsistent with their duty, as good clergymen or good subjects. In point of fact, so far from their statement being a correct one, if there exists one Catholic Church in Europe more independent than another, it is the Catholic Church of Ireland; and the truth is, that no communication scarcely ever takes place between the bishops and the Pope*, except for the purposes of obtaining canonical institution for a newly elected bishop. This arises from the circumstance that the discipline of the Irish Church renders every bishop wholly independent of the Pope in the tenure of his office, and gives him every necessary power for the administration of the duties of it. It would be sufficient merely to refer to the statement of the resistance which the bishops made to the celebrated rescript of

English College at Rome.

* There is at Rome an English college, for the express purpose of educating Roman Catholics, and it is not one of the least efficacious means of gaining influence in a country, to send there, a priesthood educated under the very eye of him who is desirous of possessing this power. If this, then, should be the case with Ireland, it would not be much out of the regular order of things to find the interests of the *Holy See* especially attended to.

M. Quarantotti, to show that there was no foundation for the assertion that the political power of the Pope was greater in Ireland than in any other country. Sir H. Parnell.

In respect to the authority which the clergy possess over the people, the Irish people were much too intelligent, and much too high-minded, to yield a servile obedience to a mere name, and to a false and fictitious authority. They obeyed their clergy because their clergy, in the first instance, succeeded in instilling among them a proper notion of religion, and of their duty as good Christians; and the clergy hold their authority only by showing by their conduct and their precepts that the principles of the religion which they taught were deserving of being respected and obeyed. So far was this authority of the clergy from being in any manner injurious to the state, it was the only support the state received in Ireland in promoting good order, and obedience to the laws, among the lower classes of the Catholics; and therefore, instead of being held up as an object of terror and regret, it should be encouraged and protected. In corroboration of this opinion, it is very well known that all those persons who take a lead in the disturbances which prevail in Ireland commenced their career by resisting the authority of their clergy; and that, if their progress though life be inquired into, it will uniformly be found that their first sins have been against their religion and

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their clergy. It is further asserted, in various publications, that the Catholic clergy of Ireland inculcate habits and opinions inconsistent with the legitimate and necessary authority of government; but in this instance, as in others, these publications omit to support their statements by any reference to facts. If it was examined into, what the conduct of the Irish Catholic clergy had been during a very long period of years, it would be found that a very different opinion ought to be formed concerning them. The rebellions of 1715, 1745, and 1798 were occasions on which their principles were fully put to the test; yet on each of these occasions they exercised their whole influence in support of the law and the established Protestant government. It was impossible for any one the least acquainted with Ireland to deny that their efforts are incessant, in all quarters, and at all times, teaching obedience* to the laws; and that

Marquis of Westmeath.

* That this opinion was incorrect, or that the Roman Catholic clergy have greatly altered in their conduct since that time, will appear from the statement of the *Marquis of Westmeath*, who, on presenting a petition from Dr. Mulholland, after observing that the institution (Maynooth) seemed only intended to fit the students for a degree of submission and degradation that was totally incompatible with the genius of a free country, asked, could their Lordships doubt, then, that this was a case of oppression, and that many such cases occurred in consequence of the Roman Catholic priests refusing to lend

their conduct, in the faithful and laborious discharge of their duties was not only most praiseworthy but formed an example which others would do well to imitate who are not the least forward in misrepresenting and calumniating them. A further charge had been brought against the Irish clergy for having declared that they could not consent to the Catholic Bill of Sir H. Parnell.

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themselves to that course of conduct which was now agitating that country. But what was the behaviour of those immaculate right reverends, who thus endeavoured to coerce the inferior clergy to further their political views? He held in his hand a letter which had been addressed to a Noble Duke near him (the Duke of Wellington), through the public newspapers, on the subject of the revenues of the established church, in which, after expatiating in a bombastic style on civil and religious freedom, and asserting that nothing could check its progress, the writer remarked, "Witness your impotent law against the Catholic bishops, who are assuming their ancient and hereditary titles. His Majesty's bishops may become possessed of all the favours that His Majesty, the fountain of wealth and honour, can give them, but they cannot make that happen which is not to be, or deprive the Catholic bishops of their rights." The writer concluded by expressing his determination not to pay tithes, or any tax in support of the Church of England. So wrote John Tuam, as he signed himself. He would next direct the attention of their Lordships to the language used by some of the Roman Catholic clergy of the second order, who were educated at the College of Maynooth, &c. &c.

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1813 without incurring the guilt of schism; but this was evidently made under a misapprehension of the state of the case; for the guilt of schism did not consist of approving of any thing in the Bill, but in giving any *approbation to a change in the church discipline without the concurrence of the Pope.*

Many other charges had also been brought against the Irish Catholic clergy; among these there was one for opposing the education of the lower order, and the circulating of the Bible among them; and in order to meet this, the Honourable Gentleman read extracts from a publication of the Hibernian Society. The reports of the Commissioners of Education had been referred to, in order to show that the education which was afforded by Catholic schools to Catholics was a "supply of moral poison," in consequence of the want of a supply of proper religious works. To answer this*, he would read an extract from a statement of the annual sale of one Catholic bookseller in Dublin of cheap religious tracts:—20,000 entitled "The Path to Paradise," price 8*d.*; 6000 of the same, by Dr. Challoner, price 1*s.* 8*d.*; 2000 of "The Garden

* The objection was not to the *quantity* but quality of the works; an objection ill met by showing a plentiful supply of such works as "The Garden of the Soul," &c. &c.; works which may be fitly styled — not only *moral*, but *spiritual* poison. This evidence, unskilfully adduced, does but substantiate the accusation it was intended to refute.

of the Soul," price 1*s.* 8*d.*; 500,000 of "Dr. Butler's Catechism," four sizes, from 1*d.* to 4*d.* (this work was drawn up for the express purpose of teaching to Catholics their civil and social, as well as religious duties); 2000 "Gahan's History of the Old and New Testament," 2*s.* 2*d.*; 1500 Reeve's ditto, 6*s.* 6*d.*; 3000 Catholic Church Hymns, 3*d.*; 2000 Douay New Testaments; 4000 Dr. Gahan's "Catholic Piety," 1*s.* 8*d.*; 10,000 small religious tracts, from 6*d.* to 8*d.* each; besides many others. So great was the demand for the New Testament in Dublin, that there were no less than four different editions of it printed by the four principal Catholic booksellers. So much had been repeatedly said on the subject of the Catholic religion prohibiting the reading of the Bible*, that it had become

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* Having translations in a country is one thing; having correct translations is another; and a third is, having full permission to read them. This, it is believed, is not permitted in any country strictly under the baneful influence of Popish despotism — the hostility of the Romish priesthood to the circulation of the Scriptures. The Pope's bulls against Bible Societies in Poland, Ireland, &c. show clearly that they will admit no translation which, by the light of truth, may dissipate the darkness and thraldom in which they hold the minds and consciences of millions. "To say that the Roman Catholic priests do not shut up the Bible from the people, is the most unblushing falsehood that ever was uttered; to pretend that a man is allowed the use of a book, when he is plainly told that it is only on the condition that he

Reading the Scriptures.

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a matter deserving of some inquiry. What the true state of the case was, and how it stood, the

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Letter of the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee.

does not dare to use his rational powers in judging of its contents, is such an insult to common sense, that it is wonderful any man is found of such gross effrontery as to offer it; as if an inquisitor should give to one incarcerated in his dungeon a book of arithmetic, and tell him, 'Sir, you may read this; but remember, Sir, that we affirm *that two and two make five*, and if you shall dare to say *that they make but four*, your bones shall crack upon the rack for your impertinence.' Such, and such alone, is the licence to read the Bible*, which the priests give to the Roman Catholics of Ireland; and if the sympathies, the energies, the treasures of men in England, who know the value of that word, are not drawn forth to prove that there is a sense of the laws of the eternal God that can triumph over the delinquencies of human legislation, the doom of Ireland, in politics, in morals, and in religion, shall be sealed for the present and rising generations: in *politics*, because, when sunk in ignorance and superstition, her poor misguided population shall be bandied about from priests to demagogues, and demagogues to priests; she shall hang like a millstone round the neck of England, and perhaps may drown her in the depths of the sea: in *morality*, for her counties shall be convulsed with insurrections, her annals stained with crimes, and perhaps her fields drenched with the blood of her miserable inhabitants: and in *religion*, because, shut up from the light of the Creator's truth, the rulers of the darkness of this world shall be her guides; and she pines and perishes in their chains in time and in eternity." — *Letter of the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee to H. Grattan, Esq., M.P.*

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* "In the year 1824 an encyclical letter reached Ire-

following account of the several editions of it would satisfactorily explain; no less than six different editions of the Bible had been printed by the Catholics in England and Ireland in the last fifty years, of which a continual succession of new editions had been sent from the press. Of the New Testament, besides those printed in Dublin, seven other editions have been printed in England and Scotland; one of the last is a stereotype cheap edition, in the notes of which the greatest care has been taken to omit every expression that could in any degree keep alive the spirit of controversy between the Catholic and Protestant religion. In France, there are no less than eleven different translations of the Bible into French. There are also translations of the Bible into the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, and into the language of every Catholic country in Europe; so that, upon the whole, it is quite evident that nothing can be more unfounded than the common opinion that Catholics are not permitted to read the Bible. That some circumstances of authority have occurred to assist in giving rise to that erroneous opinion, cannot be denied; but these may be shown to have a different meaning to that which is commonly affixed to them. Among them is the Pope's bull to the Bible Societies in Poland; Sir H. Parnell.

land from Rome, in which versions of Scripture in the vulgar tongue were stigmatized as Gospels of the Devil." See speech of J. E. Gordon, Esq., *post*, Debate 1831.

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but it is evident, on reading this bull, that the object was, in all probability, not to prevent the circulation of the Bible among the Catholics of Poland, but to stop an effort which was making by persons acting under the name of the Bible Society, to convert the Catholic Poles to the Protestant religion. That this was the case would be very easily intelligible to those who were acquainted with the proceedings of some Bible Societies in Ireland, of which the leading persons were particularly eminent for their exertions to make converts from the Roman Catholic religion. In one publication it is stated that a regular establishment of Jesuits * had lately been formed in the county Kildare; that, however, was a complete misrepresentation of the real state of the case: a school had been opened in the county Kildare, by a person who had been educated and bred up in a seminary of Jesuits in Sicily; but his school did not belong to the order of Jesuits, nor did he teach any thing that was not taught in all other schools.

He hoped that he had succeeded in convincing the House, that the Transalpine doctrines were not taught in the College of Maynooth; that the political † power of the Pope was not

* See Appendix — the Pope's bull re-establishing the order of the Jesuits.

The Pope's spiritual power gives an indirect temporal power.

† What is *political* power and what *spiritual*, where the separation begins, and the precise bounds assigned to each, are not defined; though, for the argument, it were

greater in Ireland than in any other country of Europe; that the influence which was possessed by the Catholic clergy of Ireland was not exercised to any bad purpose; that the priests were not hostile to the circulation of the Bible, and the extending of education among the lower orders; that, in short, there was nothing in the Catholic religion which rendered a person who professed it less fit to be a good subject, or less qualified than his Protestant fellow-countrymen to deserve and enjoy all the civil privileges of the constitution. He then moved, "That there should be laid before the House, copies or extracts of any communication received from the College of Maynooth, respecting the courses of education pursued in that college since the last return made on the 23d of April, 1813.

Sir J. C. Hippisley seconded the motion, lamenting the absence of the Noble Secretary of Sir J. C. Hippisley.

granted that, *eo nomine*, the Pope had no *temporal* power in any given state; yet this *spiritual* power, wielded by a skilful diplomacy, aided by the assistance of a logic the most subtle, and a casuistry the most refined, might absorb the empire of the whole world, and hold kings and princes in degrading vassalage and subjection; for, although, as Bellarmine says, "the Pope cannot, as Pope, enact a civil law, or confirm it; nor repeal the laws of princes, because he is not a political prince; yet *he can do all these things* if any civil law is necessary for the salvation of souls, and kings do not choose to enact it, or if any law be injurious to the salvation of souls, and kings do not choose to repeal it." (See *antè*, p. 126.)

Sir J. C. Hippisley.

State, of the Right Honourable the Secretary for Ireland, of the Honourable Member for Yarmouth, and, above all, the incalculable loss of one removed from them by the high dispensation of Providence (Mr. Ponsonby), whose eulogy he would not attempt to pronounce, but whose fate he might be permitted to deplore. The subject to be discussed was of the greatest importance; it referred to the moral and religious education of the people, and involved their own happiness and the safety of the empire. Sir J. C. Hippisley then answered a call made on him to ascertain what was to be understood by Transalpine doctrines, stated to be maintained at Maynooth. The infallibility of the Pope constituted the first principle, and from thence flowed her superiority over general councils, and the assumption of a supremacy in temporals as well as spirituals; but it was not to be understood as the generally maintained doctrine, even at the Vatican; a more liberal and rational code prevailed there. Individual and powerful pontiffs, such as Gregory VII. and many of his predecessors, had asserted these arrogant principles, but their adherents were now but few; nevertheless they were to be guarded against, and there was scarcely a state in Europe, of whatever religious communion, but had so guarded itself against their contagion. Sir J. C. Hippisley here stated his motion relative to the production of a concordat between the court of Portugal and the

see of Rome; which was, in fact, only an agreement between Portugal and Rome to divide the patronage of the benefices falling vacant in the papal months of patronage. The Honourable Baronet then proceeded to the work of Mr. Gandolphy—a work most insulting to the establishment and the government of the country. He here read a passage, charging Protestants with intentionally debauching the morals of their own children, if they suspected them inclined to lend an ear to Catholic teachers. Fortunately, however, for the Catholics, and for the public, though Mr. Gandolphy's works had furtively obtained the official imprimatur of Rome, he now stood censured by the same authority, and was ordered to suppress his books, and to make a formal and public recantation of his errors to his immediate superior, the apostolic vicar of his district. Such was the fate of Mr. Gandolphy's works,—at one moment declared fit be inclosed in cedar and gold; at the next, doomed to censure and abrogation. Sir J. C. Hippisley.

But to return to the immediate subject of the motion. He begged to call the attention of the House to the documents which had been moved for some years since. Nothing could be more opposed to Transalpine opinions. The course of education was precisely conformable to the principles of the Gallican Church, and the courses of the Sorbonne, where Dr. Delahogue had been himself a professor. Under such a visitorial

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power, as maintained at Maynooth, it was scarcely possible that the exploded Transalpine doctrines could be suffered to be taught. The Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justices, Lord Fingal, and other highly accredited and loyal persons, constituted the visitors; and he had had the satisfaction of receiving, within a few days, from Lord Fingal, the full confirmation of the rectitude of their courses, as conformable to the tracts which had been laid before the House. From Professor Delahogue he had also received a letter, complaining of the imputation in the printed speech of the Honourable Member for Yarmouth, and, after particularising the courses, he exclaims, "Is this to teach Transalpine doctrines?" He referred also in the same letter to the fact of the Right Honourable Baronet having, in a former debate, led Mr. Perceval to a confession that he had not made a due distinction between the construction of decrees of *doctrine* and *discipline*, as the former were held to be immutable, and discipline might change and be adapted to times and circumstances. He then stated, as an instance, the discipline of the Council of Trent respecting marriages, which had been adopted by the Church of England; it, nevertheless, was not received or acted upon in six of the principal dioceses in Ireland, including Dublin; nor could, therefore, all decrees of general councils be held to be generally obligatory. The Honourable Baronet then adverted to the report of the aggregate

meeting of Dublin on the 4th instant, in which they persisted in their former resolution, adverse to the interference of the crown, and supporting domestic nomination. A vote of thanks to Mr. Hayes was also referred to the consideration of the board, — to Mr. Hayes, the delegate of the aggregate meeting to the see of Rome, — to a person distinguished by the insolence of his attacks upon the constitution of his country, upon its government, and even upon the principal functionary of the Roman government, the Cardinal Secretary of State, — to a person who, on being admitted to the Pope to receive his benediction, was dismissed with the pontifical reproval of "Depart, rash man!" It was worth noticing that this father, delegate Hayes, loudly demanded associates in his embassy, or the whole would be lost. Dr. Dromgoole, well known by his speeches and writings, and a Mr. M'Gawley, a brother of a count of that name attached to the ex-empress of France, was another associate. Sir J. C. H. here read, from a Dublin paper, an extract of a letter from Dr. Dromgoole, suggesting how necessary it was for Rome to be on its guard against the government of England, — in a word, of most mischievous import, and which merited the reprobation of every loyal subject. Of such materials were the accredited delegates of the aggregate meetings of Ireland composed! Of the same complexion was a work which had been presented to the minister of Rome, and stated to

Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Sir J. C. Hippisley.

"be got nearly by heart by one of them," — *The Statement of Penal Laws.* Sir J. C. H. followed with a quotation from Mr. Clinch's *Inquiry.* The works of this gentleman had been presented to the ministers of the Pope. It was fair to Mr. Clinch, however, to state, that he was at issue with his patrons when he asserted that "the Protestantism of the crown would, even in the case of the concession to the Catholic claims, remain as a land-mark to show that the concession had been a gift. It had been argued that we had sedulously maintained securities for the Protestant Church. If by Protestant Church was meant the Church of England, he would ask, where was the security, in any test now required, to exclude Protestant Dissenters of every denomination from sitting in Parliament — or even the Mussulman, if a natural-born subject? No inquiry into the real tenets of Catholics of the present day had ever been instituted. A few set speeches annually closed the debate; no inquiry — no evidence whatever. Was it possible that such a course could be satisfactory? He then referred to a pamphlet circulated by Dr. Milner, naming himself the agent of the Irish bishops, — an agency, however, which was strenuously denied by the bishops themselves when recently on a mission in London. But Dr. Milner has great facilities of dispensing with the inaccuracies — to say the least — of his own statements. In this solemn address to the members

of the House, Dr. Milner was pleased coarsely to accuse Sir J. H. with the wilful statement of an untruth. Sir J. H. read the original words of Archbishop Egan's letter, which Dr. Milner attempted to fasten as a fabrication. He adverted to this prelate's vacillations, — at one moment the strenuous advocate of the veto, at the next as strenuous an impugner of it. This gentleman was pleased also to represent Sir J. H. as the candidate for office, — at one moment for an embassy to Rome, at another for the *ministre de culte.* It is possible (observed the Honourable Baronet) that I may early revisit that clime to which this prelate alludes — unquestionably, however, unaccredited and unpaid. He should not be withheld from attempting to render such services to his country, as at a former period he had not unsuccessfully attempted; and to represent the real state of this important question to those whom it imports so much to be apprised of it, might, at such a crisis, be not unreasonably considered as an act of some public benefit. He should at least not be deterred from the denunciations of such commentators. His walk over this thorny ground had been undeviating; nor should he now diverge from the course which, in his humble opinion, was traced on the soundest constitutional grounds of justice and expediency.

Sir G. Hill rose, not to oppose the motion, but to complain of the unfair and disingenuous manner in which the Honourable Mover had un- Sir G. Hill.

dertaken to reply to the speech of his honourable friend the Member for Yarmouth, during his absence; his honourable friend had attended sedulously to his business in Parliament for a considerable period after the speech had been printed and published; and it would have been more candid had the Honourable Baronet replied to it while his honourable friend was present.

Mr. Butterworth.

Mr. Butterworth apologised, and observed that every one who knew the Right Honourable Member for Yarmouth must be persuaded that his love of truth would never allow him to state in a speech, much less to print, any fact, or to make any assertions, which he did not believe to be true; and that Honourable Gentleman's judgment and accuracy were such, as to render him very unlikely to make any incorrect statement. But Mr. Butterworth rose chiefly to notice some misrepresentations made by the Honourable Baronet respecting the Hibernian schools, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. With regard to the former, the Honourable Baronet had described them as greatly countenanced by the Roman Catholic priests, of whom he had spoken in such high terms, as would insinuate that all their bigotry and intolerance were gone; and that they manifested nothing but candour and Christian cordiality towards their Protestant brethren. He would beg to read other extracts from the work

eady referred to by the Honourable Baronet, inly showing, that although there might be a r candid priests who did not oppose these iools, yet there were many of a very opposite ıcription; and, having himself been a member the committee of the Hibernian Society, he ıld of his own knowledge state, that although se schools were instituted for the most bene- ent purposes, not with a view of making pro- ytes, but simply to teach poor children the art reading, and to give a little instruction to the st wretched part of the Irish population, yet y had, in many instances, met with the most termined hostility from the Roman Catholic ests. It was evidently the desire of the author the work in question to throw a veil over se hostile demonstrations; but they never- less made their appearance, and he begged borrow the Honourable Baronet's book, to ıd a passage or two to the House. Mr. B. re read two passages to the House. The book s an account of the chartered schools in land, and of the schools established by the ibernian Society. At page 140. it is stated ıt "the Roman Catholic parents have, in a ıltitude of instances, withdrawn their children ım schools kept by Catholic masters, because the superior education to be obtained in the ciety's schools; and this, not unfrequently, at e risk of the priest's displeasure—of being fused confession—yea, of excommunication!" Mr. Butterworth.

Mr. Butterworth.

Now, this is no great specimen of the candour of the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland, when the refusal of confession and the risk of excommunication is incurred by parents for sending their poor children to a charity school, simply to learn to read.

The next passage is at p. 216., where, speaking of the schools of the Hibernian Society, it is stated that "many have been the attempts on the part of the Catholic clergy to break up and disperse the schools; and I am sorry to say that in not a few cases they have been successful. These hostilities have elevated many very gratifying instances of true Irish independence of character. How often have the poor parents pleaded with the priest for permission to send their children to the Society's schools; and in the face of the most arbitrary refusal they have ventured to ask for a reason; but no reason except his will would be given. Often, after a severe struggle between submission and priestly domination, and an affectionate concern for their children's education, the latter has prevailed, and, braving all consequences, they have continued to send their children to the schools. Whilst I record these instances of hostility, I am happy in being able to mention very pleasing instances of the reverse of all this." Now, said Mr. Butterworth, I submit to the House whether the work which the Honourable Baronet has quoted, notwithstanding all its forbearance, and desire to

conciliate the Roman Catholics, bears him out in the high character for candour which he has given of their priesthood in Ireland. The Honourable Baronet has stated that the Pope's late bull which had been issued in Poland against the Bible and Bible Societies, was framed in consequence of attempts made in Poland by the Bible Society to proselytise the Roman Catholics to the Protestant faith. Now, it unfortunately happened for the Honourable Baronet's argument, that the Polish Bible Society was not in operation till after the Pope's bull had been issued. There had been a disposition manifested by some of the nobility and gentry of Poland to establish a Bible Society, and a plan was drawn up; but it was suspended, by the opposition made to it by the Roman Catholic Primate of Poland, the Archbishop of Gnezn, who, fearing that his opposition would be insufficient, wrote to Rome for instruction how to prevent or oppose the Bible Society. The Pope's bull of June, 1816, was issued in consequence of this application; and it would have been effectual in preventing the formation of a Bible Society in Poland, had not the Emperor Alexander happened to be at Warsaw in October, when the friends of the Bible submitted the plan of the society, together with the Pope's bull, to His Imperial Majesty, who declared his intention of becoming a patron of the society; and it was publicly formed at Warsaw, in consequence of the Emperor's sanc- Mr. Butterworth.

Mr. Butterworth. tion, and in opposition to the Pope's bull. The Honourable Baronet had stated that the Polish Bible Society and the Irish Bible Society were occupied in proselytising to the Protestant faith. Now, it is well known that the Bible Societies are not occupied in making any proselytes whatever; they merely circulate the word of God, leaving that word to speak for itself, and to find its own level in the minds of men. Their sole object is, not to proselytise, but to make both Protestants and Roman Catholics better Christians. Mr. Butterworth stated that it was not any wish to create unfriendly feelings towards the Roman Catholics that had induced him to make these observations, as he entertained a great regard for some individuals of that body, both of the clergy and laity; but as he knew that a strong spirit of intolerance towards Protestants existed in Ireland, and as he could state many facts to establish this assertion, he had felt it his duty to correct some mis-statements in the Honourable Baronet's speech, which might otherwise have made an undue impression.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald. *Mr. V. Fitzgerald* presumed that the object of the motion had been effected by the opportunity it presented the two Honourable Baronets of making their statements, and defended the conduct of the Honourable Member for Yarmouth, who, he firmly believed, had been influenced by the most conscientious motives.

H. Par- *Sir H. Parnell* begged to notice the unfair

way in which an Honourable Member had selected passages from the book just quoted, tending to show that the Catholic clergy were hostile to the schools of the Hibernian Society; for if he had read a whole page instead of half a one, he would have found that, though they were at first, in some instances, hostile to them, they had ultimately become the warmest supporters of them.

The motion was agreed to.

Debate, June 23. 1831. Lord Mandeville.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.* — *Lord Mandeville* presented petitions from Aberdeen, Armagh, and other places, against the annual grant to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, to which grant the petitioners attributed much of the evils of Ireland.

Mr. O'Connell.

Mr. O'Connell said he was glad that the Noble Lord had moved that the petitions be printed, because he thought there was no little ingenuity requisite to make out the position that the evils of Ireland were attributable to the 9000*l.* or 11,000*l.* a year granted to the College of Maynooth. However, he perfectly concurred with the petitioners, that the grant was an exceptionable one. Let them make this bargain, which would be fair to both parties: — let the Protestants contribute nothing to the support of the Catholic religion; and, on the other hand,

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. iv. p. 268. (Thursday, June 23. 1831.)

let the Catholics contribute nothing to the support of the Protestant religion.

Petitions to be printed.

July 19. 1831. Mr. J. E. Gordon. GRANT TO THE COLLEGE OF MAYNOOTH.*—*Mr. J. E. Gordon* presented a petition from 20 ministers, and 111 elders of the Kirk of Scotland, resident in Glasgow, praying that no further grant be made for the support of the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth.

Mr. O'Connell. *Mr. O' Connell.*—Will the Honourable Member be answerable for the respectful terms of this petition? I ask this question, because a Noble Lord presented a similar petition a few days ago, full of such gross indecency against the Catholic religion as cannot be tolerated. If the Honourable Member will not be answerable for it, I must have it read at length by the clerk.

Mr. J. E. Gordon. *Mr. J. E. Gordon.*—I not only approve of the phraseology of this petition, but of every sentiment which it contains; and I shall be glad to have it read at length to the House.

Mr. O'Connell. *Mr. O' Connell.*—I am quite sure that the Honourable Member will concur in every sentiment of the petition which derogates from the rites of the Catholic religion.

The Speaker *The Speaker.*—Order, order!

Mr. O'Connell. *Mr. O' Connell.*—I am not aware that I am out of order; but if I am, I am so unintentionally.

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. v. p. 16. (19th July, 1831.)

The petition was then read at length. It described the Roman Catholic religion as an idolatrous religion, highly objectionable on principle and dangerous in result; which was marked out for destruction by God, along with the kingdoms which supported it. It was therefore argued that any grant of public money to countenance and propagate its errors, must be attended with the most prejudicial consequences to the safety, honour, and welfare of the British empire.

The Speaker.— Mr. Gordon, what do you move? The Speaker.

Mr. James E. Gordon. — That it be laid on the table. Mr. J. E. Gordon.

Mr. Cutlar Fergusson could not give words to the feelings of indignation which the inflammatory language of this petition had excited in his mind. He looked upon it as a direct insult to every member of that Parliament which had granted to the Roman Catholics an equality of rights with their fellow citizens. He particularly condemned the application of the word "idolatrous,*" to a religion which was followed by the inhabitants of more than half the states of Eu- Mr. Cutlar Fergusson.

* On a like principle, this term might be objected to when applied to the natives of Hindostan; and the worshippers of Vishnu and Juggernaut be regarded no longer as idolaters. The question of idolatry, however, depends upon the *nature* of the worship, — not the number of the worshippers.

rope. The application of such a term to the Catholic religion was equally at variance with the fact, and with every just and liberal sentiment. He had believed that there was no clergyman of the Church of Scotland who would have lost sight of Christian charity so far as to put his name to such a petition; and he was sure there were few gentlemen in that House, besides the Honourable Member, by whom its sentiments would be sanctioned. He thought that the education of Catholics deserved protection from government, and hoped that it would meet with it. He was sorry, as a Scotchman, that such a petition had been presented from any set of men in Scotland, and he really believed that the Honourable Member for Dundalk had been requested to present it, because the petitioners could not find one single member connected with Scotland who would condescend to take charge of it, much less accompany it with any opprobrious remarks on the Catholic religion.

Lord Milton. *Lord Milton* was not surprised at the very natural indignation with which the Honourable Member for Kirkcudbright had expressed himself. He rose, however, as a peacemaker between them; and hoped that the Honourable Member near him (Mr. Gordon) would give to this petition his mature and most Christian consideration, and consider whether the expressions which it contained were not more consistent

with sectarian zeal than with Christian charity. The petition stated that the Catholic religion was marked out for destruction by the Divine will, along with the kingdoms which supported it. How could such frail and ignorant beings — he would not say as the petitioners, but—as men in general were,—how could the Honourable Member himself know any thing of the future designs of Infinite and Omnipotent Wisdom? Supposing, however, that this statement of the petition were true, what necessity was there for the House to interfere with the designs of Providence, as the petitioners requested? * With regard to religion, he was himself, if he might be permitted to use such a phrase, an Ultra-Protestant; but, knowing the infirmity of human judgment, he bore with patience what he believed to be the erroneous, but conscientious, opinions of those who differed from him on points of faith and doctrine. He was sorry to say that men had often enough religious zeal to hate one another: he sincerely wished that they had enough religious charity to teach them to love one another. He was sure that it would not conduce to the peace of society to encourage, in petitions, the condemnation of religious opinions to which, in all probability, those who condemned them had not given any consideration. Lord Milton.

* The very greatest; namely, to avoid any participation in the *punishment*, by avoiding all participation in the *guilt*.

Mr. Dixon. *Mr. Dixon*, as the petition came from the city he had the honour to represent, could not do otherwise than state that there were no men of higher and purer feelings than the members of the Church of Scotland. At the same time, he participated so strongly in the feelings of the Noble Member for Northamptonshire, that he would take the sense of the House as to this disrespectful and inflammatory petition being laid on the table. He contended that no men of liberal feelings or Christian charity could give utterance to the doctrines contained in the petition.

Mr Cresset Pelham. *Mr. Cresset Pelham* thought it going too far to describe this petition as a general attack on the Catholic religion, and that it would be better if subjects of this kind were left to the other House of Parliament, where individuals, better acquainted with the Divine law than they could pretend to be, might discuss them. He, as well as the petitioners, dissented from the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, which, if not idolatrous, was, at least, a very mischievous doctrine.

Sir G. Clerk. *Sir G. Clerk* regretted that such intemperate expressions should have been contained in the petition; yet, as this would be the first time that the House had ever rejected a petition because the petitioners differed from it on speculative opinions, and a great proportion of the petitioners were the clergy of Glasgow, who en-

tertained the objections they had stated from a conviction of the truth of that religion of which they were ministers, he hoped that the Honourable Member for Glasgow would withdraw his proposition, rather than raise such an awkward question. The prayer of the petition was to stop the grant to Maynooth College, and the great object of the petitioners was, to check the progress of religious errors; and the statement that certain doctrines were erroneous, and marked out by the Scriptures for vengeance, was not sufficient ground for rejecting their petition.

Sir R. Inglis.

Sir R. Inglis observed, that the terms in this petition, against which such an outcry had been raised, were the terms of the oath which 658 members of that House had sworn to only two years ago. Even at present, the sovereign, before he could take his seat on the throne, was obliged to take an oath in terms much stronger than those used by the petitioners. Under such circumstances, it would appear strange to reject the petition.

Mr. O'Connell.

Mr. O'Connell said, the only question in this case was, is the petition respectfully worded to the House? In reply to the assertion of an Honourable Gentlemen, that Roman Catholics believed in the infallibility of the Pope, he would remark, that they had sworn, over and over again, they believed no such thing. The Honourable Member, therefore, knew nothing of

Mr. O'Connell.

the religion he condemned. What he quarrelled with in the language of the petition was, the assertion that his religion was idolatrous. He was a member of the House — the petition was therefore addressed to him, along with other members; and would the Honourable Member for Oxford tell him, if a man were to accost him in the street, and say to him, "Mr. O'Connell, your religion is idolatrous," that such conduct would be either civil or respectful? He would venture to tell the Honourable Member for Oxford that his religion was as little idolatrous as that which was professed at the celebrated university which the Honourable Baronet so admirably represented. For his own part, he thought that that man's religion was little to be respected, when it did not teach him to respect the religion of others. It was not by reproach that men were to be convinced of their errors; it was not by the use of violent and inflammatory language that they were to be induced even to reconsider their opinions. The religion which these petitioners had maligned was the religion of one third of the population of the British empire; and was he to be told that those who informed that House that one third of its constituents were idolaters, were not using disrespectful language towards it? Suppose a Roman Catholic should present a petition against a grant to the Protestant universities, and should call the Protestants heretics therein, would not every man in

the House rise up with indignation against such an expression? and would not every Roman Catholic member present be eager to scout a petition which contained such disrespectful expressions? "Let us give up, then," said the Honourable Member, "the use of such base expressions, which are unworthy of the mild doctrines of our common faith, and let us insist that the petitions presented to this House be expressed with decency to the principles of every religious sect which may find a representative among us."

Mr. Hume said, were he a Roman Catholic, he should only feel pity and regret that in so well-educated a country as Scotland so many pious and conscientious men were found ignorant and prejudiced enough to make use of them. For his own part, he was sorry to see so true a lover of liberty as his honourable and learned friend below him so anxious to criticise the language of a petition. "It does not affect me when they call me atheist, idolater, or any such unmeaning names, so long as they keep their hands off me: I have no objection to their indulging in their abuse, for I well know that honest deeds will long outlive dishonest words." He considered the language of the petition respectful to the House, believed the petitioners to be sincere, and entreated the Honourable Member for Glasgow not to persist in his proposition to reject the petition. Mr. Hume.

Lord Althorp.

Lord Althorp, objecting strongly to the language of the petition, said that the rule which he had always laid down upon the subject was—if they are respectfully worded to the House, the House, beyond all question, ought to receive them; but when they contained expressions which reflected upon members of the House, or upon religious sects, as this petition did, most unjustifiably, then, though he would allow them to lie upon the table, he would object to their being printed.

Mr. Wyse.

Mr. Wyse was of the same opinion with the Noble Lord and the Honourable Member for Middlesex. With regard to any insinuations upon the Roman Catholics, he treated them with perfect indifference. We were living in a free country, and members of an independent legislature, and could not be affected by such ridiculous observations. Every man in the country had a right to express his opinion, and he would vote, not only for the reception but for the printing of this petition, which he knew would only have the effect of *amusing* his Roman Catholic countrymen.

Mr. Maurice O'Connell.

Mr. Maurice O'Connell contended that the petition ought to be rejected, on account of its disrespectful language. A petition less exceptionably worded than this had recently been so rejected.

Lord Mandeville.

Lord Mandeville could not conscientiously

submit to a grant for disseminating principles which he held to be opposed to Christianity.

Mr. Ruthven objected to polemical discussion in that House, and to the terms employed in the petition towards the Roman Catholics, and should vote against the petition being received. Mr. Ruthven.

Mr. Kennedy recommended the Honourable Member for Glasgow to withdraw his amendment, regretting, however, that those from whom better things might have been expected should hurry on the ignorant and unthinking into courses so much calculated to excite animosity, when it would be at once more charitable and more politic to promote and encourage mutual conciliation. Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. Lefroy observed that, though Roman Catholics had been allowed to participate in political privileges, their religion had never been *recognised or adopted by the state;* he therefore suggested that, as the petitioners were not supposed to know that such persons were then present in that House, they could not have intended to insult them. He should oppose the motion for rejecting the petition, *and would never consent to narrow the door through which petitioners entered that House.* Mr. Lefroy.

Sir F. Burdett had for many days been desirous of presenting a petition from Mr. Taylor, who was suffering punishment for having spoken offensively of that religion which that House generally professed. If the statements of the pe- Sir F. Burdett.

titioners were tolerated, his punishment was in the highest degree unjust; and if they were so resentful on the subject of an insult offered to the Protestant religion, they should be no less jealous when the consciences of their fellow subjects the Catholics had been outraged. He should hesitate about printing the petition, but he hoped it would be received.

Mr. Dixon. *Mr. Dixon* was unwilling to oppose the general feeling of the House, and begged leave to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. James E. Gordon. *Mr. James E. Gordon* rose to move that the petition be printed, and assured the House that he did so in the conviction that he was thereby fulfilling a sacred duty, from which he could not swerve without doing violence to his conscience as the representative of those from whom this petition had emanated. It was signed by eleven ministers, 108 elders, and many other persons of respectability at Glasgow, and worded in language respectful to the House. It expressed the sentiments of a large body of ministers of the Gospel on a subject on which they could not remain silent, consistent with the principles of their faith; for they considered the Roman Catholic was a religion of error; and upon scriptural grounds they believed that heavy penal consequences attached to a grant of public money for its advantage; and therefore prayed that it might not be continued. Many objections were raised to the word "idolatrous;" but it was

not long since that every Honourable Gentleman who entered that House was obliged to swear that he looked upon the Roman Catholic religion as impious and idolatrous. He would take that opportunity of declaring to those Honourable Members who professed that persuasion, that any thing which fell from him in reference to the conventional opinions of particular classes must only be considered as signifying his intention to perform his public duty to the best of his ability and according to his conscience.

Mr. John Wood.

Mr. John Wood said, this petition was offensive to members of the Church of Rome, and on that account he should oppose its being printed.

Sir J. Bourke.

Sir J. Bourke read that portion of the petition which denounced the Church of Rome as devoted by God to destruction, together with every nation that had embraced it; and put it to the House, whether this passage was not an insult, not only to him, as an individual Catholic, but also to every Catholic kingdom in amity with Great Britain.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald deprecated making that House the scene of such discussions, and would vote against the printing of this petition, as its language must be offensive to a large portion of his fellow-countrymen. The Honourable Member should have previously made himself acquainted with the usages of the House, with respect to the reception of petitions, as, by presenting what was offensive and irregular, he

incurred a portion of the responsibility it involved.

Sir G. Warrender. *Sir G. Warrender*, as a Scotch member, felt deep regret that such a petition should have been presented from so liberal a body as the Presbyterian clergy; but was quite certain, nevertheless, that the sentiments it expressed were not those of the Church of Scotland in general. It was to be hoped that that Church would justify his good opinion by an indignant disavowal of such illiberality and intolerance.

Sir G. Clerk. *Sir G. Clerk* supported the printing of the petition, and referred to one of a similar nature from Aberdeen, presented on the 23d of June, which he considered a sufficient precedent to authorise the printing of the petition then before them. The petitioners did not seek to deprive the Roman Catholics of their liberties, but merely to prevent the extension of the dangerous tenets of that religion, believing that it was marked out for divine vengeance. *Great latitude ought to be allowed to petitioners in making their sentiments known to the legislature;* and stronger language than that contained in the present petition had certainly been already printed by order of the House. He had the good fortune to know many of the petitioners, who were distinguished for learning and piety, and would never consent that any slur should be cast on them by their petition not being printed.

Sir R. Peel. *Sir R. Peel* said he should have had no hesi-

tation in voting for the reception of this petition, as he did not think it contained any thing *personally* offensive to individuals, especially as the precedent of a refusal might hereafter prove inconvenient to the House; but the *printing* of the petition was entirely a different question, and he should be opposed to that, if for no other reason, merely as a matter of policy. He could not imagine a more useless waste of money than that occasioned by the printing of so many petitions, without producing any advantage proportionate to the expense. In the case before them, weighing the advantages and disadvantages which the course urged by the Honourable Member seemed to involve, he should say that the evil greatly preponderated. The House should remember that six or seven millions of their fellow subjects embraced the creed which this petition characterised in such offensive language; and were they to print it, he did not see how they could well refuse to print counter petitions on the same subjects, of which great numbers could doubtless easily be obtained. On these considerations, he should certainly negative the motion of the Honourable Member.

Mr. Stanley.

Mr. Stanley fully concurred in the view taken by the Honourable Baronet, particularly as to the distinction between laying the petition on the table and printing it. But he did not concur with what had fallen from the Right Honourable Member for Ennis (Mr. V. Fitzgerald), that a member was

responsible for the matter of any petition presented by him. The understanding of the House was, that a member was no further responsible for a petition intrusted to him than to see that it was couched in respectful language. He fully concurred that, in good taste as well as good feeling, they should reject the motion for printing the petition: they would act as unjustly in ordering it to be printed, as they would have in the first instance, had they refused to receive it.

Mr. O'Connell. *Mr. O'Connell* said that if any irritation was excited in the minds of any Honourable Member by the matter of the petition, it must be abundantly allayed by the manner in which it was received by the House. The ground on which the Honourable Member had defended the petition was the same as that adopted by the Inquisition in Spain. He (Mr. O'Connell) would tell Honourable Members that he detested and abjured an Inquisition, whether in Spain or in England. The Noble Lord (Lord Mandeville) seemed to think that he (Mr. O'Connell) must, from his religion, consider him a heretic. It was far from him to judge of any man, in a case which was between him and his God, and he would not pass such a judgment on any man; but even if he had an opinion of that kind, he hoped he had Christian charity enough not to apply the term to any fellow Christian.

Lord Mandeville. *Lord Mandeville* said he had not put the case

in the way in which the Honourable Member had understood it. He had declared that he could not conscientiously support a grant to promulgate principles which he considered were opposed to Christianity; and he would not offer any opinion which he was not prepared to defend.

Mr. Hunt objected to the doctrine that a man was responsible for the matter of any petition which he presented. Many Honourable Members were in the constant habit of presenting petitions the sentiments of which they disavowed. Mr. Hunt.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald said he was not correctly understood. What he meant to convey was, that every member was supposed to entertain the sentiments of any petition which he presented, unless he disavowed them. Mr. V. Fitzgerald.

Mr. James E. Gordon disclaimed any hostility to those individuals to whose religious opinions the petition referred. He felt himself placed in a difficult position by the course the discussion had taken; but he was at the post of duty, and would not flinch from it. Mr. James E Gordon.

The motion for printing the petition negatived without a division.

GRANT TO MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.* — *Colonel Perceval* presented two petitions, one from the parish of Seagoe, and landowners and other inhabitants in the county of Armagh, against the grant to Maynooth College. Aug. 5. 1831. Colonel Perceval.

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. v. p. 818. (Aug. 1831.)

Mr. Wyse. *Mr. Wyse* inquired on what ground the petitioners prayed for the discontinuance of the grant?

Colonel Perceval. *Colonel Perceval.* — Not on the ground of hostility to the Roman Catholic religion. There is nothing in the petition reflecting on any sect whatever.

Mr. Brownlow. *Mr. Brownlow* regretted that such petitions should have come from that county. He was compelled to differ from his constituents. It was of great consequence that the Catholic priesthood of Ireland should be respectably educated. He thought it illiberal and unwise to wish to withhold a grant for that purpose, which was not equal to the revenue of many Irish Protestant bishops. If the vote for Maynooth was proposed to be enlarged, to induce a more respectable class of students to frequent the college, it would meet with his entire approbation.

Mr. Wyse. *Mr. Wyse* said, the college was originally instituted, not for the benefit of Catholics exclusively, but to satisfy the scruples of certain persons who believed that the Catholic clergy, by being educated abroad, imbibed a spirit of discontent to the established order of things at home. The college was founded on this notion, and received 13,000*l.** a year when first established. This sum was reduced to 9,000*l.* a year

* Throughout these Debates many inaccurate statements are made as to dates, amount of grant, &c. This

under Mr. Perceval's administration, from a hostile religious feeling; but as that, he hoped, was Mr. Wyse.

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statement of Mr. Wyse would seem to imply that a *national* endowment of this college was originally intended; a refutation to which erroneous supposition, is contained in the speeches of Sir A. Wellesley in the Debates of 1807-8. It is no less an error to suppose that the sum voted in 1795 was 18,000*l.*,—that a definite amount has been annually granted from that time,—or that the reduction was made only under Mr. Perceval's administration. The first grant did not exceed 8000*l*; in the year 1800, it was only 4093*l.* 10*s.*; and, with the exception of one year (1808), it has never exceeded 10,000*l.* The reduction made by Mr. Perceval, as he himself explains, was no innovation, but a return to the grant as it was prior to the innovation by the late administration. This will appear from the following "Account of the Annual Parliamentary Grants to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth" since its establishment:—

		£	s.	d
1796	Parliamentary grant	7,759	2	1½
1797	do.	6,790	0	0
1798	do.	9,700	0	0
1799	do.	9,993	0	0
1800	do.	4,093	10	0
1801	do.	5,820	0	0
1802	do.	7,760	0	0
1803	do.	7,760	0	0
1804	do.	7,760	0	0
1805	do.	7,760	0	0
1806	do.	7,760	0	0
1807	do.	7,760	0	0
1808	do.	12,610	0	0

Mr. Wyse. now passing away, there could be no motive but economy for withholding the small sum by which the college was maintained. In what a situation, if it were withheld, would the Catholic clergy be placed? As long as there were Catholics in Ireland, it was important they should be well educated. The Dublin College was comparatively closed against them: if it were to be opened, and made a national establishment, there would be sufficient grounds for discontinuing this grant. It was to be lamented that we did not imitate other nations where a mixed religion prevailed. In the German universities both sects enjoyed equal advantages; and even in Catholic Austria there were two colleges for the education of the Lutherans. The same liberal conduct

			£	s.	d.
1809	-	do.	- 8,972	10	0
1810	-	do.	- 8,972	10	0
1811	-	do.	- 8,973	0	0
1812	-	do.	- 8,973	0	0
1813	-	do.	- 9,673	0	0
Since 1813 the annual parliamentary grant to the college has been		-	- 9,673	0	0

B. Crotty, President.
M. Montague, Vice-president and Acting Burser.*

* Appendix 69. to Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, p. 451.

was observable throughout Germany; and if it were adopted in Ireland, it would be of considerable advantage to the community.

Sir J. Newport complained of the stigmas cast upon an institution which was most respectably conducted. He believed some parts of the petition were so objectionable, that it could not be received. It was asserted therein, that the students were nurtured in sentiments inimical to the peace of the country. The College of Maynooth had well answered the purposes for which it was erected. If improper doctrines were taught there, what were the visitors — the Lord Chancellor and Chief Justice of Ireland — doing? They had periodically visited the college, and inquired into the particulars of the education and doctrines taught there; and when they had found cause for complaint, their complaints had been attended to, and the cause removed. Sir J. Newport.

Mr. Lefroy denied that the College of Dublin was exclusive: Catholics there could obtain degrees; and if they did not choose to attend the chapel, they were excused. It was true the fellowships and scholarships could be obtained only by Protestants. He hoped never to see the latitudinarian system of the German universities, which admitted of the establishment of opposite professorships, to teach conflicting religious doctrines, established in the Dublin University. Mr. Lefroy.

Mr. Wyse had himself been educated at the University of Dublin: he regretted, however, Mr. Wyse.

that Catholics were not permitted to enjoy the honours and emoluments of it in common with Protestants.

Sir Robert Bateson.

Sir Robert Bateson objected to the discussion, and denied that the petition was from a Catholic county, for Armagh was known to be the reverse; and he hoped the Honourable Member for that county would speak in the same spirit of liberality as he had just done, when they came to discuss the grant to the Kildare Street Society. His opinion was, that petitions like the present would not have been offered to the notice of the House if it were not for the opposition made to the grant to the Kildare Street Society. He wished to promote education, and do away with those discords and animosities which had so long prevailed in Ireland. He believed that education was not liberal at Maynooth, and, in fact, that it was directed by Jesuits.* The students were ex-

* Dr. Crotty denies that there was any further intercourse between the respective institutions at Clongowes and Maynooth College, than that some of the boys from the former institution have occasionally come over to see the establishment at Maynooth; and says that "Mr. Kenney himself, and a few others of the gentlemen of the house, have occasionally come over to dine with us; I suppose five or six times within the last ten or eleven years; and we have dined with them occasionally."

But in the evidence of the Rev. J. W. Dixon, who was himself educated at Maynooth, is the following: —

"Was he (Dr. Murray) not President at Maynooth while you were there?— He was, at the time I was there, for a period.

cluded from all intercourse with persons of other persuasions; and that of itself must prevent the Catholic clergy from being as liberal as they otherwise might be. When the college was established it might have been good policy to educate the priests at home, owing to the parti- Sir Robert Bateson.

"Do you know that Doctor Murray, and the other Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, have, in the course of the last year, subscribed a declaration, in which the principle you are now imputing to all Roman Catholics is most expressly rejected and condemned? — I heard that they have; but I am also aware that they are too closely identified with the Jesuits in Ireland; and though I must allow every man credit for his motives, I am afraid that Doctor Murray, and the rest of the bishops who have subscribed that declaration, are *too intimately connected with the Jesuits in Ireland not to go as far as those Jesuits have gone in former days*; because, at the time I was at Maynooth, the head of the Clongowes establishment, Doctor Kenney, was Vice-president; and this induces me to think that there is a *close connection between the Jesuits and the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland.*

"Was Doctor Kenney Vice-president at Maynooth? — He was at that time.

"Was he living in the College? — He was acting officially as Vice-president there; I was firmly persuaded, when I was there, that that was his office." He became Vice-president Nov. 11. 1812, at the request of Dr. Murray, who was then President. (Appendix No. 49. p. 381.) The seminary at Clongowes was established 1814, under the auspices of Dr. Kenney, but not, it appears, till he had left Maynooth.

cular circumstances of that period; *but all persons with whom he came in contact agreed that the priests now educated abroad were more liberal and learned than those brought up at Maynooth;* they were, in fact, a superior class of people. Most of those sent to Maynooth were from the humbler classes; and nothing liberal or enlightened could be expected from them.

Mr. O'Ferrall.

Mr. O'Ferrall said he could confidently state that no improper doctrines had been taught at Maynooth, as would be abundantly proved by a reference to the evidence taken before the Committee of Education in Ireland. If he had any objection to the education at Maynooth, it was that their principles were rather despotically than liberally inclined. They wanted a national system of education in Ireland, in which the children of all sects should be admitted. The professors at Maynooth were so strict, that all newspapers and political tracts were excluded from the college.*

* A rule was made, but not laid before the Lord Lieutenant for his approval, consequently not enforced. The above assertion is therefore not strictly consonant with the true position of facts; indeed, from the evidence of Dr. M'Hale, it seems that the circulation of pamphlets in the college is not forbidden. He is asked by the commissioners, —

"During the time that you were *Professor of Dogmatic Theology*, may the commissioners ask whether you published in the newspapers or in pamphlets, any letters or

Sir Josiah Host was as anxious as any man for a system of national and conciliatory education to be established in Ireland. Sir Josiah Host.

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pamphlets upon the subject of the established church? — I did.

" Were those letters or pamphlets circulated at Maynooth among the students? — They were circulated *like other such publications.*

" Is it a fact, within your knowledge, whether those pamphlets were in the hands of the students or not? — I know they were.

" Do you know in what manner they came into the hands of the students? — I dare say they purchased them.

" Will you have the goodness to state whether any particular pains were taken by yourself, or by any of your friends, to circulate them in the college? — I could not say that any particular pains were taken: I felt an interest, no doubt, in them, controlled, however, by a sense of delicacy.

" Did you in any way, directly or indirectly, authorise any person to bring them into the college? — There was no positive prohibition against pamphlets; and I may have suggested to the bookseller the propriety of introducing some of them into the college.

" Coyne was the bookseller who published it? — He was.

" He is bookseller to the College of Maynooth? — He is.

" Those letters bore the name of Hierophilos, did they not? — They did.

" Was it not perfectly understood in the college, and a matter of notoriety, that *Hierophilos* was the *Professor of*

Mr. James Gordon.

Mr. James Gordon considered the doctrines taught at Maynooth unchristian, and those who professed them ought not to be permitted to obtain any political advantage whatever. This was the true Protestant ground which the people of this country were generally about to take, as the House would find when their table was covered by petitions. He held it to be an act of gross inconsistency in a Protestant country and government, to support an establishment for the education of priests who were using every effort to vilify and upset it. Why should a Protestant government annually devote money to the propagation of doctrines which Protestants believed to be neither just nor scriptural? It was said that the Catholic priests ought to receive a liberal education; but he totally denied that Maynooth afforded a good Catholic education to the priesthood. Their character had been much lessened, in consequence of the illiberal system in which they were educated. Nor was this all.

Dogmatic Theology at the time? — Yes; at the time of the last publication addressed to Mr. Canning."*

Mr. Richard Coyne, Maynooth, says, that he published this pamphlet on his own account, and that Dr. M'Hale led him to suppose it would have a considerable sale *at Maynooth.* †

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* Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, p. 292. † Ibid. 442.

There was the greatest inconsistency in making this annual grant to Maynooth. Year after year this country was making grants for the diffusion of Protestant and sound principles in Ireland; and yet, year after year, they were supporting a Catholic establishment, to withstand the effect of their Protestant institutions. He did not now mean to say whether the doctrines taught by Catholics were right or wrong. The House of Commons was not the proper place to discuss them. But again he repeated, that the conduct of a Protestant government in supporting a Catholic establishment, which maintained doctrines of a dangerous tendency, was exceedingly anomalous and inconsistent. He would not, however, enter further upon this subject at present, as, when the grant to Maynooth was brought forward, he should be fully prepared to oppose it. But as he was now on his legs, he would crave the attention of the House while he adverted to a subject which he felt to be of very considerable importance ——

Mr. O'Connell.

Mr. O'Connell rose to order. The Honourable Member was about to open the question of the Carlow ——

Mr. James Gordon.

Mr. James Gordon said, unless the Honourable and Learned Member had the gift of prophecy or divination, he could not tell to what he was about to allude; and he would not satisfy him further than to assert again, that it was most grossly inconsistent to endow a college for the

education of priests who were opposed to scriptural education. He did not mean to blame the priests, for in their situation he believed he should act with more zeal than many of them did. With one hand they gave 40,000*l.** to support education on Christian principles, and with the other, 9000*l.* to destroy it.

Mr. O'Connell.

Mr. O'Connell said that the Honourable Member for Dundalk had ample opportunities of entering into theological discussions elsewhere, and he had hoped that he would not have chosen that House for theological display. He had termed the Catholic doctrines unchristian. He did not know how far the Honourable Member's charity might carry him, but the same spirit which he had evinced might be sufficient to qualify him for the office of Chief Inquisitor of Spain. He had attacked the priests, who, he (Mr. O'Connell) declared, were most exemplary and most diligent in their attention to the temporal as well as the spiritual wants of the poor of their flocks. They had the entire confidence of the people, whom they assisted and comforted on all occasions, when they were deserted by the rest of the world. They were to be found by the bedsides of the poor and destitute when they were ill or on the point of death: and so well was this known, that they might judge of the health of a district during the prevalence of

* This sum has been since discontinued, or, at least, greatly diminished.

contagious disorders by the number of priests who died. Yet these were the men who were calumniated. Three hours each day * were the students employed in reading the Scriptures; and yet the Honourable Member had the hardihood to assert that they did not receive a scriptural education. There had been strict examinations

* The Rev. Thomas William Dixon, who was admitted a student of Maynooth College in the year 1810, gives a statement widely varying from the study of Holy Scriptures three hours a day. He is asked *, —

" Did the Old or the New Testament at that time form any part of your study? — Except the extracts used there, the Old or New Testament, considered as such, formed no part of the study then, or at any other period.

" Were you in possession of any Bible at the time? — No.

" Had you access to any Bible at the time? — No.

" Had you access to the library during the time you were there? — In the latter years I had, as an accidental circumstance.

" Are the commissioners to understand you as saying, that during the four years you were at Maynooth you had not a copy of the Scriptures in your possession as your own private property? — I had not, that I can recollect; nor was it required of me that I should have such a book as a class-book.

" Was it not required of you, upon entering the college, that you should furnish yourself with one for your own private use? — Certainly not, that I can recollect.

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* Appendix No. 40. to the Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, p. 319.

Mr. O'Connell.

into the system of the college by the Chancellor and Judges of Ireland, who had made no complaints of the education given at Maynooth. He knew the students well, and could assert that few bodies of young men, in any place of education, possessed more extensive information than they did. He was for no exclusive* church; and hoped the time would come when every man would resort to his priest as to his doctor or lawyer, and pay the man whose aid he might require. As to the grant for Maynooth, he could assure Honourable Members that no such

* The national conscience is the aggregate of individual consciences, and no national assembly believing one religion to be right and true, can propagate its contrary without incurring guilt, equally as an individual would, who in his private capacity should so act contrary to his conscience. Men do not so put off their individual character and responsibility when they become public men; but, by enlarging their sphere of duty, enlarge also their sphere of responsibility. Their consciences they bring with them,

Mr. Gladstone.

and with them must act; and "in national societies of men generally, the governing body should, in its capacity as such, profess and maintain a religion according to *its conscience*, both as being composed of individuals who have individual responsibilities to discharge and individual purposes to fulfil, and as being itself collectively the seat of a *national personality*, with *national responsibilities* to discharge, and *national purposes* to fulfil.

"Because, therefore, *the government* stands with us in a paternal relation to the people, and is bound in all things to consider not merely their existing tastes, but the capabilities and ways of their improvement; because it has both

grant would have been required, if the Catholic families of Ireland had obtained that compensation to which they were entitled, for the loss of the property which some of their ancestors had expended in foundations in France for the education of youths intended for orders in the Catholic Church in Ireland. He wanted no partial liberality. Give, he would say, to the Kildare Street Society the management of any funds

M. O'Connell.

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an intrinsic competency and external means to amend and assist their choice; because *to be in accordance with God's word and will, it must have a religion*, and because in accordance with its *conscience* that religion must be *the* TRUTH as held by it under the most solemn and accumulated responsibilities, because this is the only sanctifying and preserving principle of *society*, as well as to *the individual*, — that particular benefit, without which all others are worse than valueless, — we must disregard the din of political contention, and the pressure of worldly and momentary motives, and in behalf of our regard to man, as well as of our allegiance to God, maintain among ourselves — where happily it still exists — the union between the Church and the State."*

Individually and collectively, the *truth* is to be sought after, maintained, and propagated; and the national and individual conscience is alike vitiated by acting contrary to its dictates. What then becomes of the above theory of the Honourable Member — a theory never carried into practice by the Roman Catholics when they can avoid doing so?

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* Gladstone on The State, and its Relations with the Church, p. 26.

necessary to educate Protestants, as it had their confidence; but do the same to Maynooth, which possesses the confidence of the Catholics.

Mr. Hunt. *Mr. Hunt* remarked, that if the table should be covered with petitions against this grant, such petitions would only come from Scotland, to which country the Honourable Gentleman belonged. He bore testimony to the exemplary conduct and great intelligence of the Irish Catholic clergy.

Mr. James Grattan. *Mr. James Grattan* hoped that the Honourable and Gallant Member for Dundalk, having failed in his theological contests in Ireland, would not now try his hand in the House of Commons in the same line. He must remark, that Maynooth was established by Mr. Pitt, at the suggestion of Mr. Burke, and that the clergy educated there were a most exemplary and meritorious body.

Mr. Cresset Pelham. *Mr. Cresset Pelham* was surprised at the last Honourable Gentleman's replying to remarks which he had not heard.

Sir John Doyle. *Sir John Doyle* complained of the illiberality of many of the Protestant clergy, and gave an instance by reading a letter from a reverend rector (Mr. Featherston), of Hatchetstown, county Carlow, who declined distributing money sent for that purpose, to the Protestant poor of his parish, because he disliked the politics of the donor (Sir J. M. Doyle) as being a supporter of reform. The Honourable and

Gallant Member (Mr. Gordon) had preached much respecting the harmony of the gospels. It were to be wished that he would adopt the practice, and avoid such discussions in this House, which must interrupt the harmony so much to be desired. For the sixpence we gave the Catholics, they gave pounds to the Protestants; and the less that was said on this subject the better for the Protestants.

Colonel Perceval.

Colonel Perceval said he had not intended to excite any angry feeling in presenting this petition. He meant not to attack the College of Maynooth; but he must say, that, in the opinions of Catholics *themselves, the priests educated there fell far short of those educated elsewhere,* in acquirements and liberal feelings. As allusion had been made to the Honourable and Gallant Member for Dundalk, he must say that no man stood higher in the estimation of those who knew him, in Ireland, than that Honourable and Gallant Member.

Petition to lie on the table.

Aug. 31. 1831. Sir Robert Inglis.

GRANT TO MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.*—*Sir Robert Inglis* presented a petition signed by 780 Protestants in Ireland against the grant to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. The petitioners stated that the College had been insti-

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. vi. p. 916. (Wednesday, 31st August, 1831.)

Sir Robert Inglis.

tuted to accomplish certain objects, but the experiment had entirely failed. One of those objects was, to prevent the priesthood from coming within the scope of foreign influence, which might cause them to entertain feelings hostile to the institutions of the country. This, however, had not been effected. The petitioners deprecated the system of bringing up the lowest of the people to the clerical profession; and that such was the case at Maynooth, they proved from the highest authority,—that of a report which had been laid on the table of the House. From that report it appeared, that of 205 individuals in the college, six were the sons of merchants, one of an apothecary, and one of an architect, while the remaining 197 were the sons of farmers, graziers, grocers, &c. They stated that the clergy who had been educated abroad in former times, such as Father O'Leary, Dr. Butler, the present Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, and other eminent men, were greatly superior to those who had been reared at Maynooth; and that the two ablest Roman Catholic clergymen of the present day, Dr. Doyle and Dr. Curtis, were both educated abroad. They further alleged that at Maynooth the students were brought up in a decided hostility to the dispensation of the Bible generally; and that no Bible, except their own translation, known as the Douay Bible, was allowed; the cheapest edition of which Bible cost 18*s*. The petitioners

felt that they ought not to be called on to support the promulgation of a religion which was erroneous and idolatrous; and though some objections had been made to so speaking of the Roman Catholic religion, he could not consider it as improper, when he recollected that such language had always been applied to the Catholic religion, till very lately, in that House. In 1812, when it was proposed to reduce this grant, Mr. Perceval stated that "if it were then to be first granted, he should be disposed to resist the grant altogether; but, considering it a grant made over by the Parliament of Ireland to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, he would not propose to abolish it. The reduction at that time was resisted because the grant was one recognised at the time of the Union; but when reductions were made with respect of wide streets, and a variety of other items, which existed at the period of the Union, he could not conceive that such a plea was available with respect to this institution.

Mr. O'Connell.

Mr. O'Connell denied the truth of the assertion, that Maynooth had not produced as able men as any of those who had been educated abroad. In support of his position, he need only refer to the Right Reverend Dr. M'Cabe, whose acquirements in theology, in philosophy, in science, and in classics, might challenge competition. He would tell the petitioners that this College had succeeded to the full extent which

Mr. O'Connell.

the Roman Catholics of Ireland — the parties most interested — wished and desired. He contended that the Roman Catholics desired to read, and did read, the Scriptures; but they objected to making them a school-book. The Roman Catholics were called idolaters. He indignantly repelled the assertion. They were not idolaters — they worshipped the living God, and the living God only! Sooner than worship aught else, they would expire at the stake. If Protestants thought that they were mistaken in their religious opinions, only let them be Christians enough to say that the Catholics were in error — do not brand them as idolaters. If justice were done to the Roman Catholics, they would not need assistance of this kind. If, instead of being expended on building Buckingham Palace, the 123,000*l.* which had been recovered from France on account of the destruction of the Irish establishments there, and the confiscation of property bequeathed for religious purposes by the ancestors of the present race of Irish Catholics, that sum had been handed over to its rightful owners, the Roman Catholics would not have needed a grant for Maynooth. He was sorry, at this time of day, to see the Honourable Baronet presenting such a petition as this, imputing to the Roman Catholics doctrines which they disclaimed, and principles which they detested. If any individual of his faith rose in that House, and pointed out as heretics his Protestant fellow subjects, he could

tell the Honourable Baronet that no man would meet such an aspersion with more honest indignation than he would. Had he not a right, then, to expect similar forbearance towards those who were of his creed? Polemics had been too long indulged in, and it was time that they should give way to feelings of Christian benevolence and charity.

Lord Killeen denied that the great body of the Roman Catholics were adverse to the diffusion of the Scriptures, although they did not approve of them as a school-book. He, as one of the trustees and visitors of Maynooth College, would assert that it had produced men of high character and attainments. At present there were seventeen Roman Catholic Bishops who had been educated there; they were brought up in the most liberal manner, and were at all times anxious to suppress riots and disorders, and encourage tranquillity and obedience to the law. Lord Killeen.

Mr. Hume asked if every individual, whether his birth was the highest or the lowest, had not an opportunity of attaching himself to the Protestant Church? Who were they that served in the Church in Scotland? Were they not taken from those very classes on whom the petitioners were now casting a gross aspersion? The manner in which the duty of the parish priest in Ireland and of the minister in Scotland was performed, might put to shame many of the English clergy, when the labours of each were Mr. Hume.

considered. The Roman Catholics had been called idolaters; and on that account it was alleged that this grant should cease. Why, Indo-Britain contained millions of idolaters, and we supported the idolatry of the Hindoos, and of other sects. The English had a college to support, and perpetrate what in their view was idolatry. Should they, then, support the Hindoo and the Mussulman, and yet refuse assistance to the Roman Catholic, on the gross plea that he was an idolater? He regretted to see a petition of this kind presented by any gentleman, but more particularly by a representative of one of the universities, where liberality ought to prevail. But, unfortunately, with some few exceptions, the universities were the hot-beds of every thing contracted and illiberal.

Mr. Spring Rice.

Mr. Spring Rice, as an Irish Protestant, and as strong a friend to the Protestant Church as any man, would be prepared, when the proper time came, to contravene all that was alleged against the grant. The College of Maynooth was under the superintendence of visiters appointed by Parliament; their motives were above suspicion, and their report, when laid before the House, would, he believed, afford a better defence for this grant than anything that he could offer. The Parliament had endowed and encouraged, at Belfast, and in other parts of the north of Ireland, institutions for the education of Presbyterian clergymen. Was it not

equally wise that some provision should be made for the education of the Catholic priesthood of Ireland? He knew the priesthood of Ireland better than the Honourable Baronet, and must say that many most liberal and most learned men, and men strongly attached to the institutions of this country, were to be found amongst those who had been educated at the College of Maynooth; many, too, he would add, who had been introduced into the priesthood from the most humble classes. He would only add, that the education of a priest could not be obtained on lower terms at Maynooth than at the colleges abroad.

Mr. Henry Grattan.

Mr. Henry Grattan spoke in very disparaging terms of the petition, the parties from whom it emanated, and the manner in which it had been got up. The fourth clause of the petition (he observed) was a base invention. It was not a doctrine held at Maynooth that the Scriptures should not be read. There was no Roman Catholic but must feel resentment at such aspersions. If the Honourable Baronet and the petitioners wished to separate the two countries, they could not take a better course than that of giving currency to statements that were false, unfounded, untrue, and unjust. It was not to be expected that Ireland would continue united with England if it was to be so treated. Lord Chatham had said that *His Majesty's subjects were one people, and that whoever attempted to divide*

them was the author of sedition. He did not impute such a feeling to the Honourable Baronet, but he was convinced that those who signed this petition had sedition in their heart.

Sir R. Inglis. *Sir R. Inglis* said that he was not responsible for the character of the gentlemen who signed the petition. He did not know one of them; but he had been asked to present the petition, and he deemed it to be his duty to comply with the request. There was a higher authority than any in that House against taking the priests from the lowest classes of the people. With respect to the assertion of the Honourable and Learned Member for Kerry, that the Catholics of Ireland paid 1,500,000*l.* to the Protestant Church, — that he must deny. They paid tithe and church-rates as owners and occupiers of land; and it was no matter whether the land was in the possession of Catholics or Protestants, it was subject to those charges.

Mr. O'Connell. *Mr. O'Connell* made some remarks as to the signatures to the petition. As to the complaints that the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland were the sons of persons in humble life, and the high authority alleged against that practice,—he must say, for his part, that he had read his Bible, and he found nothing in that book rendering it obligatory on clergymen to ride in coaches. Those who first propagated Christianity were persons in humble life; and he could not imagine lowliness of birth any impediment to the faithful and

zealous discharge of clerical duties. Men of the first information and talents amongst the priesthood were the sons of poor parents: such persons had a proper sympathy for their flocks; and he could tell the Honourable Baronet that the progress of pestilence and famine might be traced in Ireland by the death of the Catholic curates, who curtailed their own incomes to minister to the wants of their people, and encountered disease, by not being — like some other clergymen — above visiting the abodes of the poor and distressed. — Petition to be printed.

Sept. 26th, 1831. Mr. Perceval.

SUPPLY — MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.* — *Mr. Perceval* rose to state, before going into a committee, his objection to the vote that was to be proposed. Although it was his wish that the vote for Maynooth College should be entirely done away, he was precluded from taking any step in a committee for that object, except by putting a direct negative upon the grant. As so much of the year, however, had passed awa and as the faith of government had been pledged, he was not disposed to propose that the grant should be now refused, and he would therefore propose a resolution for the future, and state, as shortly as he could, his ground of opposition. The principle he rested upon was this: that a state stood before God as an individual; with the same dependence upon Him for

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. vii. p. 606. (Sept. 26. 1831.)

Mr. Perceval. all blessings, and the same obligation to obey Him. He did not feel himself called upon in that place to establish this principle — it was recognised throughout our constitution: from the coronation of our king, in which the House lately took part, down to the prayers daily read at the table of that House, this dependence and this obligation were acknowledged. It was his birthright, as a British subject, to call himself the member of a Christian state, to address that House as a Christian legislature, and to call upon them to act consistently and faithfully in that character. As Protestant Christians, therefore, it was inconsistent and unfaithful in them to be voting annually a grant for the purpose of educating men to teach religious doctrines which they held to be a system of falsehood and a corruption of the word of God. If any Protestant member objected to such terms, and held that the papal system was not such, let him rise in his place, and plainly and manfully say so; but at the same time, he (Mr. Perceval) hoped he would state why he called himself a Protestant, and how he justified his separation from the Church of Rome. It might be urged, that, by passing the Catholic Relief Bill, the legislature had given up its essentially Protestant character, and was such no longer. He knew this sentiment to be held by many of his own friends, and had heard it argued by others who were in favour of the liberal principles of the day. He would

not argue this point abstractedly,—he would not enter into the consideration whether, according to true and legitimate reasoning, such was the consequence of that Act, — but he was there to contend, that if this were really the case, *it was not with their eyes open to such a conclusion that they passed the Act. The most illustrious advocates of that measure always contended, that if they thought it would lead to the destruction of our Protestant Establishment and of the exclusively Protestant character of our constitution, they would never support it.**

Mr. Perceval.

* The Bishop of Exeter, in his protest against the passing of the Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Bill, powerfully observes, that it was "not only contrary to common sense and common justice, but also to the spirit of most solemn promises and engagements repeatedly made by those who advised and ultimately carried the Act for the Relief of Her Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, in 1829. The leaders in that great and perilous experiment pledged themselves to propose to Parliament the re-enactment of the statutes which were then repealed, or the adoption of still more stringent restraints, if the parties who were freed from the restrictions before imposed should prove (*as they notoriously have proved*) *themselves unworthy of the confidence then reposed in them, and should renew their attempts against the Protestant Church in Ireland.* If any unhappy concurrence of circumstances has prevented the literal redemption of that pledge, yet the least and lowest obligation which it can justly be understood to have imposed was the duty of a resolute and firm resistance to every new proposition for increasing the power of *so bitter, so unrelenting, and so perfidious an enemy.*"

The Bishop of Exeter.

Mr. Perceval. It was not with that *animus* the government brought in the measure; for his right honourable friend (Sir R. Peel) had given, as his reason for rejecting the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy, which had been proposed as a security for their loyalty, *that the government would do nothing that looked like uniting the state in any way with the Papacy.* This, therefore, was the view of the friends and proposers of the measure; and that it was with this *animus* the legislature had passed the measure he would clearly prove from the nature of the oath provided for the Roman Catholic members of that House. This oath distinctly stated that the Roman Catholics were admitted by a Protestant Parliament to seats in a Protestant legislature on condition *of their coming under Protestant obligations.* The words were these:—"I do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King *George* the Fourth, and will defend him, to the utmost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, which shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to His Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown, which succession, by an Act intituled *An Act for*

Mr. Perceval

further Limitation of the Crown, and better uring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and stands limited to the Princess *Sophia*, ctress of *Hanover*, and the heirs of her body, ing Protestants." That was the first Protestant gagement to the Protestant constitution that e Roman Catholic coming into the House was und to observe. The Catholic continued: — hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any edience or allegiance unto any other person aiming or pretending a right to the crown of is realm: and I do further declare, that it is t an article of my faith, and that I do re- unce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that inces excommunicated or deprived by the pe or any other authority of the see of *ome*, may be deposed or murdered by their bjects, or by any persons whatever." In that rt, again, the Roman Catholic came under an gagement to satisfy the fears and doubts of a otestant state and a Protestant legislature. nd here was an additional statement:—"And do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope *Rome*, or any other foreign prince, prelate, rson, state, or potentate, hath or ought to ve any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, periority, or pre-eminence, directly or indi- ctly, within this realm." Again, then, the oman Catholic entered into a third engage- ent to satisfy the doubts of the Protestant gislature: — "I do swear, that I will defend,

Mr. Perceval. to the utmost of my power, the settlement of property within this realm, as established by the laws; and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment as settled by law within this realm." But mark how the oath concludes:—"And I do solemnly swear, that I never will exercise any privilege, to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in the United Kingdom; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever. So help me God."

He repeated — this oath clearly proved that it was not with the intention of abrogating its Protestant character that the legislature passed the Relief Bill; but that, in the character of a Protestant legislature, they admitted the Catholic to a seat in Parliament, if he chose to come in under Protestant conditions. He must, therefore, object to the grant as a matter of conscience and of duty towards God. Infidelity, he feared, was on the increase. He believed that the doctrine of holding the scale equal between God and Satan on all occasions was gaining ground in that House. He was as certain of this as of any thing — that liberalism in religion

was infidelity at bottom; that they both came from the same root, and led to the same consequences; and he lamented to see in that House a disposition regardless of encouraging the latter if the former were attained. He would observe, that for those who did not see the matter as he did, he thought there was another ground for their voting with him, which was, that the government, professing to deal equal justice between Catholic and Protestant, had withdrawn the Kildare Street grant, while they continued this. Even upon their own principle, this grant also ought to be withdrawn; as he was convinced they would have great difficulty in persuading the Irish Protestants that they were dealing impartially with them, when they stopped the one and continued the other. He would not meet the vote by a direct negative in the committee, because he thought Parliament stood pledged to individuals; and if, hereafter, a just and equitable claim could be made out for any sum, he should have the greatest readiness to consider the claims of individuals. What he desired was, to separate the state from the College of Maynooth. The Honourable Member concluded by moving, as an amendment, "That it is the opinion of this House that it is not expedient to continue the annual grant to the College of Maynooth after the present year."

The Honourable G. Ryder said, I rise with the utmost satisfaction to second the resolution which Hon. G. Ryder.

Objects to grant.

has been moved by my honourable friend and colleague. I object to this grant to Maynooth

First.

College on several grounds. First, because I am opposed, on principle, to a professedly Protestant government supplying funds to educate religious instructors for the people in doctrines which that government is bound to consider as

Secondly.

fraught with dangerous error. Secondly, because this grant stands as a complete anomaly in our parliamentary bounty, being, so far as I can discover, the only instance in which public money is bestowed for such a purpose as the maintenance of a purely theological seminary. I have yet to learn upon what sound principles of Protestant legislation the Roman Catholic faith, in preference to every other religious persuasion dissenting from the established Church, is entitled to have its ministers educated at the ex-

Thirdly.

pense of the state. I object to this vote, thirdly, because, from all the information which I can collect, — and I am told that many Roman Catholic gentlemen concur with me in the opinion, — the object for which this college was established has been completely frustrated: I mean the educating of a priesthood which should be more liberal, tolerant, enlightened, and loyal, than that which was trained abroad in former

Fourthly.

times. I must oppose this grant, fourthly, because His Majesty's ministers have proclaimed their hostility to all exclusive educational grants, and having pushed this principle to an ex-

treme in the case of the Kildare Street Society (which assuredly little merits the character of exclusiveness), the vote now under our consideration cannot even be defended upon their own grounds. I do not hesitate to avow that I desire, with all my heart and soul, *Protestant Ascendancy*,—not, indeed, in that invidious, degrading, and merely political sense, as a shibboleth of party, and a rallying-point for jealous, vindictive, and domineering passions,—a sense which, I lament to say, has been but too frequently affixed to the term,—but in that far higher, purer, and juster acceptation, in which I should ever wish to see it applied,—I mean the ascendancy of Protestant religious principles, as drawn direct and unadulterated out of the only fountain of heavenly truth, the Bible, over the hearts and minds and lives of all my countrymen. Being deeply convinced that the points on which we, as Protestants, differ from the Church of Rome, are of the utmost moment, as well to the temporal as to the eternal interests of men, I deem it to be my bounden duty towards God and man, to resist whatever may obstruct, no less than to uphold whatever may promote, the growth and conformation of such a Protestant ascendancy. With these views and feelings, I cordially second the resolution of my honourable friend and colleague.

Desires Protestant ascendancy.

Points of difference of the utmost importance.

Mr. Stanley observed, that it was impossible to treat with levity a subject of such importance

Mr. Stanley.

Mr. Stanley. as that which had been introduced by the Right Honourable Member, and introduced by him in so solemn a manner. It was difficult, however, to grapple with the Honourable Member on a question which he had not put upon the footing of reason or argument, but upon a sense of conscience, and a duty towards God. But he could not look at it as a religious, but only as a political question. If by consenting to this grant he could imagine that he promoted the *ascendancy* of the Roman Catholic religion, or impaired the interests of the Protestant faith, he would vote for the motion of the Honourable Member, and acknowledge that it was not consistent with the duty of this House to sanction this vote. But that was not the light in which he could consent to look at the grant, which had been voted for years past, and by greater men than now advocated it in that House. It was in no way connected with the Catholic question, nor had ever been considered to be so. So long ago as 1795, the legislature had santioned this grant, not as a merely religious grant, but on political grounds solely. It was thought by the government of that day — a government, by the way, of which Mr. Pitt was at the head — that there was some danger in allowing those destined for the ministry of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland to receive their education in a country where such opinions prevailed as were then known to exist in France; and as a measure

of political caution, it was judged advisable that the *public funds* of the country should be charged with the education of the priests of Ireland at home, rather than run the risk of importing dangerous political opinions which would become tenfold more dangerous if they fastened on the minds of those through whom the moral and religious instruction of the great mass of the people is to be conveyed. A sum of money was therefore voted for defraying a part, not the whole, of the expenses of the College of Maynooth, and the whole establishment was placed under the inspection of visitors, the majority of whom were Protestants. By this means a check and control on the system pursued there was obtained, which the government could not pretend to assume unless it bore a considerable share in the expenditure. From that time to the present the grant had been continued, though not always to the same amount; for, a few years ago, it was found that a sum of little more than 9000*l.* a year would be sufficient, instead of 13,000*l.*, as given before. Now, if it were only on the score of authority, the House ought not to condemn, as unworthy of a Christian legislature, a grant which was introduced by Mr. Pitt, which had the full concurrence of Mr. Fox, and which had been supported by all the weight of the authority of Mr. Grattan. These were the three great names under the authority of which the grant was first introduced in 1795, and it had been

Mr. Stanley.

Mr. Stanley. continued by every succeeding government, not excepting that of which the Honourable Member formed a part, and not on religious, but on political grounds. Nor was the grant without special grounds of justification. During the last war, Buonaparte offered an education to the Irish clergy in France; but this was rejected by the Roman Catholic priests, who forbade their youths to exchange the education they obtained at Maynooth, for the better education they could have got at Paris; and therefore, on a principle of gratitude, we owed something to the Roman Catholic clergy. Now let him ask the Honourable Member, what would he gain, on the supposition that he were to succeed in persuading the House to reject this grant? Would it have the effect of diminishing the Roman Catholic education, or increasing that of the Protestant, in Ireland? Did the Honourable Member think that at the end of a year, if this grant were withheld, there would be one Roman Catholic less in Ireland, or one Protestant more? Most certainly there would not. The amount of the grant he did not consider of so much importance, for very little exertion among the Roman Catholics themselves would raise a fund much greater than this. *It was the principle to which he looked.* It was to the policy or impolicy of granting or withholding it. Supposing, for an instant, there was some danger in acceding to the grant, there was, he would contend, tenfold

more danger in refusing it, and danger, too, of the most serious kind to the interests of the Protestant religion itself. For the sake of that religion, therefore, he thought the House was bound to support the grant; for, knowing the state of feeling in Ireland on this subject, he did not hesitate to state, that the Protestant religion in that country would be placed in imminent danger by the rejection of this grant. It would alienate the minds of the Catholics greatly from the government in that country; and not without some good foundation in reason, for the establishment was given by government on the understanding that it should be permanent *: the withdrawing of that grant now would be considered therefore a breach of faith on the part of government. He would ask the Honourable Member, did he object to Roman Catholic education under any circumstances, or to that system of education which was adopted at Maynooth? If he objected to the education of the Roman Catholics in their own faith, was he prepared to go the whole length of stating that

Mr. Stanley.

* These observations are made under a misapprehension of the true position of the case. It appears from the statement of Sir A. Wellesley, that, so far from expecting any public grant for the support of such an institution, it was expressly understood that the requisite funds should be supplied by the Roman Catholics themselves (see *antè*, pp. 166, 167.); the withdrawal of that grant could not, therefore, be rightly considered a breach of faith on the part of government.

Mr. Stanley. millions of people should be without any religious instruction whatever? Was he prepared to say that the Catholics of Ireland were likely to be better men or better subjects by being without religious instruction of any kind? or did he mean to contend that it was better to be without any religious instruction than to receive that of their own communion? He presumed that no man would venture upon the assertion of a principle so monstrously absurd as this. On what ground, then, did he object? Did he object to the particular system taught at Maynooth? If so, he must say that the system was not objected to by the Protestant visitors of the establishment. When he said this, he did not mean, of course, that the visitors preferred that to a Protestant system of instruction; all he meant was, that there was nothing objectionable in it on political grounds. The Commissioners of Education also bore testimony to the advantages of the system pursued at Maynooth, as any gentleman might satisfy himself by consulting the reports which were on the table of the House. One objection urged against the continuance of this grant was, that by the cheapening of the means of education in that college, the children of the very lowest classes were sent there, and that, in consequence, the Irish clergy were, for the greater part, taken from the lowest and least respectable classes. Now what was the fact? It could be

proved beyond contradiction, that education at Maynooth was much more expensive than education on the Continent, or in other public establishments in Ireland; and, consequently, so far from being open chiefly to the sons of the lower classes, they were chiefly the children of the higher and more respectable classes who got admission there, for none others could bear the expense.* Upon all these grounds — which he contended were political — upon the grounds of justice to the Roman Catholics, and on the ground of the security of the Protestant Church in Ireland, to which in his conscience he believed that nothing would be more dangerous than the rejection of this grant — he called upon those who valued the peace and tranquillity of Ireland — upon those who regarded the stability of the Protestant establishment in that country, to give their support to the motion.

Sir J. Newport was surprised at the course Sir J. Newport.

* As a general position, this does not seem consonant with the statement of Dr. Crotty, as given *antè*, p. 43. note; while the testimony of Mr. O'Connell before the Lords' committee (March 11. 1827. p. 159.) differs yet further from it, having said of the Maynooth students, that, being most of them the sons of very low persons, they had astonished him by not only their manners, but by the classical facility and elegance of their style in writing. He gives the following reply to the question, "You have said that in general those persons who have been educated for the priesthood are lowly born?—Yes; so generally, as to partake in some measure of universality."

Sir J. Newport.

taken by the Honourable Gentleman opposite (Mr. Perceval), as he recollected his ancestor's opinion when he withdrew the additional grant to the college in 1808 which had been given in 1806. At that time, the late Mr. Perceval remarked *, "It was particularly desirable, after the establishment of the connection of this country with the Irish Catholics since the Union, that the grant of the Irish Parliament should not be diminished." For his own part, he thought it extremely desirable that the grant should be continued to its full extent. What, he would ask, was meant by those Honourable Members who opposed this grant? Did they mean to contend that Ireland † had no claim to the justice of the United Parliament? Did any Honourable Member believe that if Ireland continued to possess a separate legislature, it would not have made a provision, and a much more ample one than this, for the education of the Catholic clergy in that country? And was it, he would ask, prudent or politic to make her feel the loss of a local legislature in this respect? For his own part, he was most decidedly hostile to a repeal of the Union, and for that reason he would wish to take from its advocates such irritating topics as might be dwelt upon, by referring to a refusal of such a grant as this.

* See *antè*, p. 140.

† This is confounding *Ireland* with *Popery*. Ireland has every claim — Popery, none. To foster Popery is to foster one great cause of Ireland's misery.

But was there no other ground on which the grant could be defended? Had the support which the great mass of the Roman Catholics give to the established church in Ireland, by tithes and church-rates, and other assessments which pressed with great severity upon them, given them no claim to such a grant as this from the public funds of the country? He would contend that, as a matter of right and justice, that grant ought not to be withheld. Its amount was of trifling value, compared with the irritation which would be produced in Ireland by the rejection of the grant. Was it charitable, politic, or prudent, to tell millions of the people of Ireland that the government would not give any support to the education of their priests, because that which they taught them was superstition and idolatry? Was that the best way of contributing to the maintenance of the Protestant religion in Ireland? He had the pleasure of knowing many individuals among the Catholic clergy in that country; and he could state, that a more pious, more zealous, more intelligent set of clergymen, — men more anxious to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of their flocks, could no where be found. Under all the circumstances of the case, he should give his most cordial support to the grant, believing in his conscience that nothing could be more injurious to the peace and tranquillity of that country, or to the permanent establishment of the

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Protestant religion in it, than the rejection of the vote.

Sir R. H. Inglis.

Sir R. H. Inglis said that it was no defence of the wisdom or policy of this grant, to urge that it had been given by a former government. The question was not, whether that government, in making this grant, had acted prudently or not; but whether such circumstances existed at the present moment as ought to induce the House to accede to it. He considered that the whole question was open to discussion anew. Government had altogether altered its policy with respect to grants for education in Ireland, more particularly with respect to the sums given for the support of Protestant establishments. The same ground, therefore, did not exist for supporting this grant to Maynooth as heretofore; because the withdrawing of grants from Protestants, and continuing them to a Roman Catholic establishment, would show a partiality which no government ought to encourage. Government had withdrawn the grant from the Kildare Street Society, on the ground that advances of money for education ought to be so distributed as that Catholics and Protestants should equally derive benefit from them. Here, however, was a grant, not merely for the promotion of Catholic education, but for the education of a large body of men whose duty it was to inculcate in the great mass of the population of Ireland that religion, and those doctrines,

which every conscientious Protestant must believe to be false. He did not object to the education of Catholics by their own funds, but he did think it inconsistent with Protestant principles, that a sum of public money should be granted by a Protestant government, to be applied in promoting doctrines which Protestants believe to be false.

Mr. A. Lefroy said that he rose to make a few observations upon the subject now under the consideration of the House with considerable difficulty, because, though he confessed that he differed very widely in his religious and political opinions from his Roman Catholic countrymen, still he trusted that there was no man who would be more unwilling to cast a reflection upon their conscientious opinions, or to express a sentiment hurtful to their feelings; but as he had received petitions to present against the continuance of this grant, and had been desired to call the attention of the House to them, and had abstained from doing so (in order not to trespass on the time of the House at an inconvenient period), he felt it due to those petitioners, as well as to himself, to take this opportunity of stating shortly the reason for the vote which he should this night give. He did not conceive this House to be a suitable place for considering the theological errors of the Church of Rome; yet, as a member of the British legislature, and as one that fully concurred in the opinion, "that

Mr. A. Lefroy.

Mr. A. Lefroy.

to maintain that the state ought not to concern itself with the religion of the subject is the greatest and most dangerous of all political errors, and to regard religion with indifference the most dangerous of all modern ones," he felt is his duty carefully to watch over the interests of the established church, as not merely convenient to the state, but as being inseparable from it; and he felt it inconsistent, as a member of the Protestant Church, to contribute to the support of an institution which not only maintained but educated and sent forth through the country the ministers of a religion which he believed to be erroneous. He (Mr. A. Lefroy) did not know how the Right Honourable the Secretary for Ireland could, in accordance with what he had before said, vote differently from him on the present occasion, as he had stated he was opposed to exclusive grants. On this ground, he had diminished the grants to the Protestant charter schools, and had altogether withdrawn the grant from the Society for discountenancing Vice. On this ground he stated that he had withdrawn the grant from the Kildare Place Society, though he (Mr. A. Lefroy) and his friends, who supported that institution, would not admit that it was an exclusive society, and supported it on the ground of being founded on a system calculated to do away with the differences that did exist, and to promote harmony and good-will in that country. He knew that

by such conduct His Majesty's government had produced distrust and dissatisfaction; and confessed that he thought it was therefore the more incumbent upon Protestants to view with jealousy every encroachment upon the interests of their faith, and not to assist in propagating another so much at variance with it. For these reasons he was compelled to vote against the continuance of the grant; and he trusted that any Roman Catholic gentlemen who heard him would do justice to the feelings which urged him to assign a cause for this vote, as he thought that it was more candid to do so, than by merely giving a silent vote to appear to follow in the train of a political party to offer an insult to his Catholic countrymen.

Lord Mandeville.

Lord Mandeville observed, that there was one great question which every member ought to ask himself before he came to a decision on that important subject: it was this—"Is it the duty of the House to preserve the Protestant establishment in Ireland? and if it be, how far can that object be attained by such a grant as this?" Was not the great object of the establishment of Maynooth to disseminate amongst the population of Ireland the belief that the doctrines which the *Protestant Church held to be true were sinful and heretical?* Could any Protestant, then, give a conscientious assent to a grant for the support of an establishment whose end and aim were so hostile to Protestantism

Lord Mandeville.

itself? He did not blame those who were opposed to the doctrines of the Protestant Church for inculcating doctrines which they believed to be true; but he should not hold himself or any Protestant excusable in supporting, at the public expense, the inculcation of doctrines which he believed to be false. This was a question which admitted of no compromise. It was a question which related to the purity of God's word; and those who believed that that word was corrupted and defiled by the doctrines of the Church of Rome, ought not to promote the dissemination of that doctrine among their fellow men. He could not conceive any measure more likely to be injurious to the Protestant religion in Ireland than this. Would it not, he asked, tend to weaken the confidence of many Protestants in their own faith, when they found the legislature, consisting, with few exceptions, of Protestant members, thus publicly supporting an establishment which denounced the Protestant religion as heretical, and which did all in its power to induce its members to abandon their faith and embrace the creed of Rome? He would ask Honourable Members who supported this grant, did they believe that the Church of Rome taught the pure doctrine of Christianity? If they did not, on what principle was it that, as Protestants, they thus openly encouraged the preaching of a doctrine which they believed to be false?

Mr. Cresset Pelham said it was his opinion that Parliament had the power to object to the grant. It was in one sense a religious question. As a Protestant, he conceived himself bound to extend advantages to every one of his fellow subjects, which, in his opinion, might conduce to their benefit; at the same time, he did not fee disposed to promote the education of the priesthood in Ireland: they had the opportunity of deriving a more liberal system of education on the Continent than any they could receive at the College of Maynooth. He thought it inconsistent with the duty which, as Protestants, they owed to that pure form of worship which their religion inculcated, to vote a grant for the promulgation of doctrines which they must believe to be false; and he could not consent to support a system which, in his opinion, was disadvantageous to Christianity itself, Mr. Cresset Pelham.

Sir R. Bateson was ready to give his support to the motion of the Honourable Member for Tiverton (Mr. Perceval). He regretted extremely the course taken by His Majesty's ministers with respect to education in Ireland. They withdrew the grant from the Kildare Street Society, because they thought its application was *too exclusively Protestant*, and yet they continued the grant to Maynooth, which they knew was *exclusively Catholic*. Had they continued the grants that their predecessors had recommended to Parliament for the promotion of Protestant edu- Sir R. Bateson.

cation in Ireland, the continuance of this grant might be less objectionable than at present; though in the abstract, he must say, he did not think Maynooth entitled to the support of Parliament, because of the illiberality of the system on which it was founded. But had the grant, he repeated, been continued to both parties, he might not so much object to this; but he could never consent to continue a grant for the support of a church which he believed to be in error, while at the same time the bounty of Parliament was withdrawn from establishments for education in connection with the church whose doctrines he believed to be true. The Right Honourable the Secretary for Ireland had adverted to the opinion of the Commissioners for Education in approbation of the Maynooth system; but he must take leave to say that it was not entitled to that praise. Judging from the works which were read there, and from the whole plan of education at Maynooth, he would contend that nothing was more narrow or illiberal, and he believed it was the general opinion amongst the well-informed Roman Catholics, that the priests educated at Maynooth were far inferior in extent of learning and acquirements to those who were educated in foreign colleges.

Mr. George Sinclair.

Mr. George Sinclair said that, as an elder of the Church of Scotland, he felt bound to deliver his decided testimony against the continuance of the grant to Maynooth. His opposition,

however, did not result from any feelings of illiberality to the Roman Catholics, or from any disposition to deny to them their civil rights. These rights he had himself advocated; and that, too, at a time when the advocacy of them had not become popular, but at a period when the monarch and the government were arrayed against them. It was, however, one thing to concede civil rights, and another to contribute to the propagation of a false religion. He was not ashamed to avow to this House that, in theology, he was a follower of Luther, of Knox, of Calvin, and the other illustrious reformers, to whom Great Britain and the world owed so deep a debt of gratitude. Still less could he consent to merge his faith as a Christian in the doctrines of political expediency, or hope to promote the welfare of his country by lending equal encouragement to the ministers of the Reformed Church, and the priests of that religion, against whose errors our ancestors had so solemnly protested. He could not consent to view it as a matter of indifference whether the doctrines of Protestantism or the corruptions of Popery were promulgated in the land; and he would remind the House, that if such indifference now prevailed within these walls, they must have greatly degenerated from the spirit which prevailed in other times. Their forefathers did not think that such questions were matters of indifference, or to be decided only by an appeal

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to a short-sighted expediency. Had they done so, they would not have contended for their faith, even to the death; and so gladly marched to the scaffold and the stake, rather than deny their creed. He could not reconcile it with his sense of duty to vote for a grant which went to encourage the education of a priesthood whose business it was to instil the errors of Popery into the minds of the people of Ireland.

Colonel Sibthorp.

Colonel Sibthorp felt that he had only one course to follow with respect to the motion before the House. As a Protestant he felt bound to oppose any measure which he believed hostile to the interests of the Protestant religion in this country. He had no wish to interfere with the religious opinions of any class of his fellow subjects. As long as their profession was found not to be injurious to the state, he admitted that the state had no right to interfere with them; but it was one thing to *tolerate*, and another, directly to *encourage* and *support;* and he could not see how any man who sincerely believed his own religion to be true, could support an institution the object of which was to teach the people that it was false.

The House divided on the original question:—

Ayes	- - -	148
Noes	- - -	47*
	Majority -	101

* List of the Noes.

Agnew, Sir A.
Bateson, Sir Robert

The Speaker then left the chair, and the House went into committee, *Mr. Bernal* in the chair. Question put, "That a sum of 8908*l.* be granted for Maynooth College." Mr. Bernal.

Mr. O'Connell was not prepared to expect that Honourable Members would go the length they had gone on this occasion. That many Honourable Members were conscientiously opposed to any grant to Maynooth, or to any Mr. O'Connell.

Best, Hon. W. S.	Lefroy, Thomas
Blair, William	Lefroy, Anthony
Boldero, Captain	Lowther, Hon. Colonel
Burge, W.	Lowther J. H.
Clements, Colonel	Mandeville, Viscount
Cole, Lord	Maxwell, Henry
Conolly, Colonel	Mayhew, W.
Cooper, E. J.	Miller, W. H.
Corry, Hon. H. T. L.	Pelham, J. C.
Cust, Hon. Sir E.	Perceval, Colonel
Dick, Q.	Pringle, Alexander
Dundas, R. A.	Rickford, W.
Estcourt, T. G. B.	Ryder, Hon. G. D.
Fox, S. L.	Sibthorp, Colonel
Gordon, J. E.	Sinclair, George
Halse, J.	Stewart, Charles
Handcock, Richard	Stewart, Sir Hugh
Hayes, Sir E. S.	Tullamore, Lord
Hodgson, J.	Walsh, Sir John
Hughes, W. H.	Wetherell, Sir C.
Ingestrie, Viscount	Wynne, John
Kearsley, J. H.	Young, John
Tellers	Perceval, Spencer Inglis, Sir Robert
Paired off in favour—	
Archdall, General	Rochfort, Colonel
Grant, General Sir G.	Sadler, M. T.
Pollington, Lord	Townshend, Hon. Colonel

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establishment having similar objects in view, he did not object to: but that a man should ground his opposition on a total misrepresentation of those objects, he was not prepared to expect. He had not expected the opposition of the Honourable Member for Tiverton to the Roman Catholic religion couched in such terms, when speaking of the doctrines of that creed; as if he arrogated to himself the infallibility of the Godhead. Was it charitable—was it christian—for one man believing in the same Christ to tell his fellow man that his mode of worshipping God was false and damnable? Whatever the Right Honourable Member might think of the Roman Catholic religion, he could assure the Honourable Member that he was glad that he did not belong to a religion which held such uncharitable, such unchristian language. With respect to the grant, he owned he did not feel flattered—Ireland did not feel flattered — with the importance that the Right Honourable Gentleman (the Secretary for Ireland) attached to it. In amount it was nothing; and if it was withheld altogether —about which he was perfectly indifferent—it would be found that the Catholic priesthood would be as fully provided for in Ireland as at this moment. He was not surprised at Honourable Members complaining of being called on to give support to a religion in the truths of which they did not believe. Any conscientious man might feel the same objection. But did it never

occur to them to deal out the same meed of justice to others which they claimed in this respect? Did it never occur to them that the Catholics of Ireland were compelled to support a church in which they did not believe? that they were not only obliged by tithes* to support the wealthiest body of clergy in Europe, but that the building of churches, the repairs, the ornaments of those churches, nay, even the very price of the sacramental elements, was taken from their pockets; and yet now, when a paltry grant of public money was proposed, to the support of their own clergy, Honourable Members turned round upon them, and said, "No, you shall not have any money from the public to support your creed, because you believe that which is false — because you believe that which is damnable." Was fallible man thus to assume the attribute of infallibility? Was a poor worm of the earth thus to set himself up in judgment over the eternal doom of his fellow being, and thus blasphemously presume to state that his opinion must also be the opinion of God? What an example was here held out to Ireland! If that example were followed, what must be the consequence? Let this grant but be refused — and, he repeated, he did not care for the grant — but let it be refused, and in one month after, was Mr. O'Connell.

* If discharging the liabilities of property will support a claim to endowment, then, Jews, Mahommedans, Hindoos, Chartists, Infidels, and Socialists, may alike demand it. (See speech of Sir R. Inglis.)

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it not probable that the tithes and the church-rates of Ireland would not be collected, unless at the point of the bayonet?* Were the supporters of the Protestant Church in Ireland prepared to attempt that mode of collection? or did they believe that the Catholics alone were the only party who would object? Let them not be deceived in that respect. No very inconsiderable number of Protestants in the north of Ireland would be glad of the opportunity to resist the payment. Be that, however, as it might, he would confidently assert, that in three provinces out of the four in Ireland it would be impossible to collect tithes and church-rates but by physical force, if this grant were refused. Were Honourable Members prepared for this conduct, from the principles they had this evening declared? With respect to the grant, he again repeated, that he did not value it as a boon to the Catholics. They would be most willing to support their own clergy liberally, without any aid from the state, if, like the people

* The natural connection between cause and effect does not here readily present itself, nor, by any ordinary process of logic, could one arrive at the conclusion, that the collection of tithes "at the point of the bayonet" would be the result of withholding the grant from the College of Maynooth. It is, however, very significant language,—it is the language of the wizard speaking to his spell-bound spirits, to "cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war," if the British Parliament, acting up to the conscientious discharge of its duty, should dare to legislate otherwise than at his dictation.

of Scotland, they had only their own clergy to support — if they were not pressed down by the burden of a church in which they did not believe. He hoped, however, that the time was fast approaching when the principle of each religion supporting its own pastors would become general. The Honourable Member for Tiverton no doubt believed that the religion of the Catholic Church was an error. He (Mr. O'Connell) believed that it was true. But did he, on that account, presume to sit in judgment on his fellow man? Forbid it, Christian charity! He left men to be judged in religious matters by that Being who alone could judge justly. The intolerant spirit which the Honourable Member had breathed forth that evening was the spirit which had produced the Inquisition in Spain, and the Orange Lodges in Ireland; and in each case the result was similar,—Christian charity and Christian forbearance were forgotten; bigotry, prejudice, and personal rancour supplied their place: and so it must ever be where man presumes to deny to his fellow man that liberty which he himself claims in matters of religion. The priesthood who were educated at Maynooth were made the subjects of observation and attack. Upon that subject he would not at that time enter, further than to appeal to those Honourable Members who had opportunities of judging of the character and conduct of the priests in Ireland. He would appeal particularly to those Honourable Members

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who differed from him in religion, and who, he was sure, would not allow that difference to hinder them from doing justice to that able, intelligent, pious, and indefatigable, but yet much calumniated body of men. As to the grant, he felt if the House divided that he must give his vote for it; but he must again beg to repeat, that he was perfectly indifferent whether it was given or not. Honourable Members had objected to Maynooth, because, as they alleged, the cheapness of education there induced some of the very lowest classes to send their children, and that, consequently, a large body of the priesthood were thus taken from the humblest classes. He would not then enter into the question, whether a man from the humblest class in society might not by education be raised to the highest acquirements in literature and science: examples of this kind were of every day occurrence. Now, what was the fact as to the cheapness of education at Maynooth? It could be proved beyond a doubt, that education in most of the foreign universities could be obtained for one third what it cost at Maynooth. He had investigated this fact, and found that it required three times the sum to pass a man through Maynooth that it did through any of the foreign colleges. The sum of money it cost each individual was three times greater. The first year alone cost 40*l.*: that sum would certainly have been amply sufficient to have taken the priest to

France, to have kept him while there, and then to have paid his expenses home. It had been said that this was a safe place for the Catholic clergy. Years ago this might have been an argument — in by-gone times, when they fled from persecution, and when the name "refugee priest" was a common one throughout the country. In times such as those this might have been an argument; but Maynooth had given rise to a class of priests of a very different description. These priests had discovered that *they had political rights as well as religious duties to attend to,* and that they were as much bound to preserve the one as they were to perform the other. But they gave abundant satisfaction to their own flocks, who looked up to them with gratitude and respect; who supported them with pleasure; *who educated them at Maynooth;* and who contributed from their own stinted means of support for this purpose. The priests discharged their duties in return; and were esteemed, valued, and beloved by their flocks. Maynooth had produced this effect, although *not one fifteenth part of the Roman Catholic clergy were educated in Ireland.* Before he sat down, he must repudiate an idea which the Honourable Gentleman appeared to entertain. He rebutted the charge — he denied that any man in that House was his superior, or that he had any worldly advantage to look up to in consequence of professing the Catholic re- Mr. O'Connell.

ligion. He was as ready to prove his belief in those doctrines as any man could be, in a proper place: he was as convinced of the truth of his religion as any gentleman could be of the truth of his. He asked no compassion, no forbearance from any man who made him a handle for abusing his religion; although he must confess that he should prefer it if the charge were made in a little more courteous language, and with less acrimony.

Mr. Spencer Perceval.

Mr. Spencer Perceval said, the Honourable Member for Kerry had accused him of having attacked the Roman Catholics in an ungentlemanly and acrimonious manner. Had such an accusation proceeded only from the Member for Kerry, he might have been well content to have left it unnoticed where it fell; but the Member for Kerry had been answered by a cheer, and in deference to that cheer, he would put it to the House whether he had said one word which would justify such an attack. The Honourable and Learned Member had accused him of using unchristian expressions, and of entertaining unchristian feelings, against the Roman Catholics. He denied that he had entertained unchristian feelings towards any man, or that the expressions he had used would bear the construction which the Honourable and Learned Member had put upon them. He had stated his opinion on a matter which he considered admitted of no compromise of feeling. He stated his opinion, that, taking God's word as the standard, Popery

was a system of falsehood and corruption of the pure worship of our Lord Jesus Christ. On that ground he thought that, as a Protestant, he could not consistently give his support to any grant for the encouragement of that religion. In stating that such was his conviction, he made no personal attack upon any man, and he denied that he was guilty of conduct unbecoming a gentleman. "But," said the Honourable Member, "whatever opinion any one may entertain on this subject, and however highly I may value my character as a gentleman, I trust that I shall never be guilty of the baseness of sacrificing my duty as a Christian, for the reputation of a gentleman. I trust I shall never be deterred by the sneers of any man from giving expression to opinions which in duty I feel bound to utter. The Member for Kerry ridicules the idea of any one saying he believes his opinions to be founded on the word of God. Why, sir, what does the Honourable Member himself mean when he says he believes the Roman Catholic religion to be true? Does he not mean to say that he believes it to contain the truth of God? That is, too, what I mean; but both cannot be right. If Protestantism be truth, then Popery is falsehood. The two religions are diametrically opposed. I say that the one is the truth of God. If this is the case, the other must be a corruption of his holy word: and here, Sir, I am content to leave the matter." Mr. Perceval.

Mr. James E. Gordon.

Mr. James E. Gordon said, that he had refrained from taking any part in the discussion of the amendment upon which the House had divided, as he was prepared to meet the grant with a direct negative. With those who had preceded him, he felt himself in a somewhat unpleasant situation, as it respected the principles and feelings of many Honourable Members of that House. It was at all times a sufficiently ungracious duty to condemn and to oppose principles in the abstract; but when those principles were held, conscientiously held, and publicly professed by men of honour and integrity in that House, it added exceedingly to the embarrassment of the individual who should undertake to impugn them. It was not enough, in the present instance, that he should oppose himself to certain doctrines taught at the expense of a parliamentary grant; but, constituted as the House of Commons then was, he must do so in the presence of Honourable Members who were as sincere in the belief, as they were honest in the avowal, of these doctrines; and he envied not the condition of the man who could so effectually divest himself of the consideration of what was due to the feelings of others, as to discard every restraint of a personal nature from his mind. He stood there, however, not to accommodate himself to the feelings of those whom he had the honour to address, but to discharge a solemnly momentous duty; and painful

as that duty might be, he should enter upon the performance of it with the feeling of one who was deeply responsible as to the course which he was about to pursue. He would only farther premise that it was not his intention to enter upon the theological discussion of the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Whether they were true or false was not, he considered, the question which they had then to discuss; but believing, as he did, with every consistent and scripturally instructed Protestant, that they were erroneous and destructive to the souls of those who received them, he could not but be influenced in his opposition to the grant by that conviction. Assuming *that* as the foundation of his belief, the first ground upon which he should object to the proposed vote was very simple. The object of the grant was to give currency to the doctrines of the creed of Pope Pius IV., and against such an object he was compelled, both by principle and consistency, to protest. The Right Honourable the Secretary for Ireland had asserted that the object of the grant was purely political, and he had listened with considerable anxiety to catch, if it were possible, some reason in support of such a declaration. Nothing, however, in the shape of reason had been given, nor did he believe that it were possible for the Right Honourable Gentleman to defend his position by any arguments which were intelligible to that House. The office of the priest-

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hood of Ireland was a religious office. The doctrines which they taught were set forth in the creed of Pope Pius IV., and no one acquainted with that creed would deny that it contained exclusively theological doctrines. But if the office of the persons whom it was the intention of the Government to educate was a purely religious office, then the object of the grant was a religious object, and all the logic of that House could not prove the contrary. On that ground, therefore, he took his stand, and, treating the question as one of a religious character, he found himself restrained from giving any countenance to the grant, by the consideration that we were not at liberty to do evil that good might ensue. If moral guilt attached to the inculcation of error, moral guilt attached to the support and sanction of error; and if it was sinful to teach a system of antichristian doctrine, that House, in voting a grant to educate the teachers of such doctrine, would, in the language of Scripture, "become a partaker in other men's sins." So much for what he considered the religious view of the question, in its simplest and most obvious sense. But he could not stop there; he should feel himself obliged to treat the subject more comprehensively than had been done by the friends who had preceded him, and to follow out the dogmata taught in the College of Maynooth to their practical results upon the mass of the population. These doctrines, which were wire-drawn, if he might

so speak, into a variety of catechetical forms, were administered in that popular shape by the agents that a British Parliament had undertaken to educate; and, therefore, the question of what these agents taught the people, entered as much into the argument for or against the present grant, as the consideration of the doctrines which they themselves were taught. He should not inflict upon the House the penance of an extended reference to the popular standards of theology which the priests of Maynooth were employed to administer to the peasantry of Ireland. One specimen would be sufficient; and in order that no objection might be made to the authority of that specimen, he should select the edition of the "Christian Doctrine" revised by Dr. Doyle, and prescribed by him to be taught throughout his diocese. In the preface to that work he found it announced as a useful contribution to the spiritual advantages of those whom the writer described as his dearest children in Christ, and one among the instruments whereby the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion would be planted and watered. It followed, in the concluding part of the preface, that it was sanctioned by that sacred authority with which the writer and his order are sanctioned from above. It was not, as he stated before, his object to enter upon the question of whether these doctrines, said to be taught by

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divine authority, were true or false; but the effect which they were calculated to produce upon society was a consideration in which that House was intimately concerned. Now among these doctrines, taught at the expense of the Protestant public, was one which stigmatized every Protestant in Ireland as a heretic obnoxious to the wrath of God. He should leave it for the House and the country to estimate the consistency of calling upon Protestants to promulgate such tenets, as he should leave it for those who were acquainted with the moral, the political, and the social condition of Ireland, to speak of their effects upon society. But it was not enough that Parliament should be called upon to uphold doctrines which were inconsistent with the peace of society: it must also be called upon to lend its aid in support of doctrines which went to sap the very foundation of moral obligation. He found, for example, in the same work, a distinction laid down between mortal and venial sin; and he should quote the terms in which that distinction was expressed. "*Question:* By what kind of sins are the commandments broken? — *Answer:* By mortal sins only; for venial sins are not, strictly speaking, contrary to the end of the commandment, which is charity." So much for the distinction itself. He would beg the attention of the committee to the practical application of this principle, and the manner in which it affected the moral condition

of society. "*Question:* When is theft a mortal sin? — *Answer:* When the thing stolen is of considerable value, or cause a considerable hurt to our neighbour." Thus, if the believer in that most accommodating doctrine should be tempted to steal a shilling from an indigent and suffering neighbour, the act would come under the definition of mortal or deadly sin, forasmuch as it would cause considerable hurt to the injured party. But if the same individual should steal to the value of a thousand pounds from a person in great affluence, it might, after all, be a merely venial offence, because it would not cause considerable hurt to the injured party. Then it was to be kept in mind, that the judgment of the thief constituted the moral arbiter which was to determine the distinction. Again, with respect to the sin of lying. "*Question:* When is a lie a mortal sin? — *Answer:* When it is any great dishonour to God, or notable prejudice to our neighbour." Thus the liar is at liberty to lie venially up to the point at which he may conceive that the practice causes great dishonour to God, or notable prejudice to his neighbour. And these were the doctrines which a professedly Protestant state was called upon to sanction, to support, and to teach to the people of Ireland. But he would not restrict his view of this subject to the doctrines which the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland were educated by the British government to teach, or the effects which these

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doctrines were calculated to produce upon society. There was another view of the character of the priesthood of Ireland, which he was bound to include in his estimate of the question before the House. While that body was actively engaged in the propagation of what he considered dangerous error, and what the fathers of the Reformation would have termed soul-destroying doctrines, they were just as actively engaged in excluding the light of heaven from the darkness visible, which it was their constant endeavour first to create, and then to perpetuate. Yes; while doctrines such as he had pointed out, and worse than he had pointed out, were systematically and authoritatively taught, and while free course was afforded to the history of profligate and treasonable adventure, the Book of God was hunted from house to house, and from hand to hand, with an almost instinctive hostility. The Bible, the palladium of Protestantism, and the foundation of our common Christianity, was a proscribed book; and a people who, in matters of faith, professed an exclusive reference to the precious truths which it contained, were called upon to educate and to distribute through Ireland, in parochial detail, a class of individuals who were religiously pledged to banish it from public observation. Was this, he would ask, a calumny or fact? Let the testimony of experience, and the declarations and oaths of Roman Catholics themselves answer the ques-

The Bible a proscribed book.

tion. The first authority which he should quote in support of the declaration would be one to which that House could not reasonably object. In the year 1824, an encyclical letter reached Ireland from Rome, in which versions of scripture in the vulgar tongue were stigmatised as gospels of the devil; and an appeal was made to the fourth rule of the index of prohibited books against the general use of the Bible in any form by the laity. And how, he would ask, was this rescript received by the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland? Did they assert that independence of which they sometimes boasted, and appeal from the authority of this document? Or did they use their discretion with respect to the public and general use of it? No such thing. In a pastoral address, written to pioneer it through the kingdom, they gravely stated, that in the *sentiment expressed by their head and chief they fully agreed;* and not satisfied with a mere assent in the matter, they appealed to the prohibitory rule of the index quoted by His Holiness as the ground-work of that assent. Thus we had the recorded decision of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland against the general use of the scriptures by the laity; and that decision was in accordance with the uniform practice of the priesthood. What could we expect, in such circumstances, but a prevailing ignorance of the word of God in the land? And what did we meet with in experience, but a most appalling verification of

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that fact? One instance, out of a multitude which he could quote, would be sufficient to put that subject in a practical light. In the evidence given on oath by a most respectable Roman Catholic gentleman, of the name of Donnelan, before the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, he stated, that in many parts of the province of Connaught, with which he was acquainted, the peasantry did not so much as know what a Bible or Testament meant, until the exertions of the Bible Society * brought the book within the range of their observation. But further: at the time that gentleman was giving his evidence, there were, as he asserted, multitudes who could not distinguish a Bible or Testament from any other book, even after it had been put into their hands. But perhaps he might be told, in answer to such a charge, that a version of the Bible had been printed under the sanction of the Roman Catholic bishops, and was actually on sale in Dublin. Such he admitted to be the fact: but did the mere licence to sell a copy of

Dr. M'Hale.

* Some idea of the difficulties with which this and similar societies have to contend, may be formed from the following. Dr. M'Hale having said that the assertion by Dr. Milner, "that crime seems to have multiplied in proportion to the ascendancy of Bible Societies," was "a matter susceptible of all the clearness of mathematical calculation," says, in reply to another question, "I believe, that *if Bible Societies were to prevail in this country, and to supplant the ancient religion, that crime would multiply in the same extent.*" (Appendix 37. to the 8th Report, &c. p. 298.) The Bible Societies would replant the *ancient* religion.

the scriptures at eighteen shillings in boards afford evidence of a disposition to circulate the book? He had done with Roman Catholic priests in the discharge of what might be considered their ecclesiastical function; but, called upon as he was to sanction a vote for the multiplication of their number in Ireland, there were other aspects of character in which he must take the liberty to contemplate them. It would seem that a circular order had lately issued from the seat of government in Dublin, requesting the assistance of the clergy of the different persuasions, to co-operate in taking a census of the population of their respective parishes. This, in regard to Roman Catholic clergymen, he conceived to be a reasonable requirement, on the part of a government to which they were so deeply indebted; but what was the result? He held in his hand five of the published replies to that circular, by Roman Catholic priests; and he should read one or two of these for the information of the committee. The first was signed John Burke, parish priest of Castlepollard, and he would particularly request the attention of the committee to its contents:—"Sir,—I have been favoured with two copies of your circular on the census of the population. I suppose the parish priest of Newtownbarry received one or two more. I would wish to know what obligation the priests of Ireland owe, either to you or the government, that we should assist

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Letter to George Hatchill, Esq.

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your travelling servants and look over their work. If you want clerical bailiffs, call on those whom you pay, and who have nothing else to do; with respect to us, we have neither time nor inclination to give you gratuitous services, no more than we would be inclined to disgrace ourselves by receiving your pay. You want the census of my parish. All the information that I can give you is, that its population was reduced on the last shooting day eleven in number; and that we have laws which forbid me to characterise that deed as it deserves." He should not occupy the time of the committee, by reading the whole of that disgraceful production. It would be sufficient to add the conclusion: — "Sir, send your Orange messengers and enumerators to those to whom they are welcome, but let them not be annoying my little place by their unwelcome presence. I am too much affected by the loss of my parishioners, whom I regard more than I do you, or any one belonging to or connected with the Irish government, to turn my attention to this display, that is so worthy of the men who take the adorers of Jupiter, Mars, and Pluto, in perhaps more instances than the census. To GEO. HATCHILL, Esq., Dublin Castle." The author of the communication which had just been read was represented as expressing himself in the plural number— "we, the priests of Ireland," was the phrase which he employed; and the committee would

find, in the next sample which he should adduce, that there was a unity of feeling upon the subject, and that Mr. Burke had correctly represented that feeling. It was from a priest of the name of Fagan, in the county of Meath, addressed to the same officer of government:— Mr. James E. Gordon.

"Sir,—After the prompt and indignant rebuke which you have so lately received from my respected friend, the Rev. Mr. Burke, of Castlepollard, on the subject of the census, I did not imagine that you would so soon have the effrontery to annoy any more of the clergy of Meath with your insulting circulars. I therefore beg leave to assure you that you know but little of the high character of the Catholic clergy, if you think they would be induced to become the associates of Orange underlings and the pioneers of your work. No, sir; they sympathise with their flocks in their manifold grievances, and will not become the enumerators of persons who, perhaps, are marked out for victims on the next shooting day; and as long as Ireland is the prey of a faction, and 'despots work their tyranny in forms of law' in that ill-fated land, so long as Anglesey yeomanry butcher with impunity a peaceable and unoffending people, so long will the Catholic clergy entertain feelings of deep indignation towards their oppressors, and scout such circulars as yours with the contempt they deserve." Mr. Fagan's letter.

He held in his hand three other documents, of an equally, or, if possible, of a more repre- Other documents.

Mr. James E. Gordon.

hensible description; and he was satisfied, that if the whole of the answers in the possession of the government were laid upon the table of that House, they would betray a secret of which the public could at present form no adequate conception. And was that, he would ask, among the qualities and character, and the dispositions towards government, which entitled the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland to the benefit of a parliamentary grant? But there was another view in which he should take the liberty of presenting one or two specimens of that body to the Committee. It might be within the knowledge of some Honourable Members present, that

Dr. Doyle.

Dr. Doyle had recently addressed a letter to a Right Honourable Gentleman on the opposite side of that House, in which he had expressed a hope that the hatred of Irishmen to the system of tithes might be as lasting as their love of justice. He certainly did not then mean to inquire into what had been the effect of that appeal upon the passions and the interests of an ignorant and misguided people; but it was natural to expect that the sentiments of such an authority would be duly echoed by those who were subject to his influence. What, then, was the fact? In a meeting of the people, as it was termed, of the county of Carlow, held a few days since at Bagnalstown, he found the clerical auxiliaries of Dr. Doyle at their post; and he should quote a part of the address which one of

them was reported to have delivered on the occasion:—"The present tithe system is, and will continue to be, the source of deep discontent in this country; and why should it not, when the amount of tithes goes to swell the already full store of the bloated parson who only eats and drinks and sleeps, and eats and drinks and sleeps again?" [*Cheers.*] And had it come to that, that such expressions, when applied to the clergy of the established church, could be cheered in that House? Did those Honourable Members who had cheered the expressions which he had just quoted pretend to reconcile such expressions with the principles or the practice of a minister of the Gospel? If so, he would tell them that they betrayed a very lamentable ignorance of the character of a Christian minister. But let it go forth to Protestant Britain, that the grossest terms of abuse and reproach, when applied by a priest of Rome to the Protestant clergy, were loudly cheered on the ministerial benches of that House. He could tell those Honourable Members who could applaud such sentiments, that there was a voice without as well as a voice within these walls; and if there was one particle of Christian, of Protestant, or of constitutional feeling in the land, it must and it would respond to such appeals as the circumstances of that night's discussion had addressed to it. He should again refer to the speech of the Rev. Mr. Maher:— Mr. James E. Gordon.

Mr. James E. Gordon.

"Was not that law a disgrace to the land, which had consigned two men to prison at Kilkenny, for merely endeavouring to preserve peace and order at a meeting held on the subject of tithes? Will not the fathers of Kilkenny make their sons swear eternal hostility to a system which had consigned these two individuals to rot in a dungeon? The real disturbers of the county were the grand jury jobbers and the minor fry who acted under them, the parsons and their proctors, and the landlords of that county. *If the landlords did not take great care of themselves, the people of Carlow would rise up, and drive them from the county.*" [Cheering.] Honourable Members might continue to cheer such atrocious conduct, and, for aught he knew, it might be perfectly consonant with their sentiments to do so; but he did not hesitate to tell them, that those who could cheer such threats would cheer on to their work the midnight incendiary with the torch in his hand, and the assassin with the dagger under his cloak. [*A laugh, and Hear, hear!*] Those cheers should reach the public ear; and if there was a channel of conveyance from that House to the intellect or the feeling of the country, the sentiments which had been applauded that night, and the quarters from which the applause had proceeded, should circulate through the length and breadth of the land. Did those Honourable Gentlemen from Ireland, who sat on the opposite side of

the House, imagine that their defence of Roman Catholic priests, and their cheers when the conduct of Roman Catholic priests was impeached, would shield *their persons* and *their property in the day of visitation?* If they did so, he would tell them that they were grossly deceived; and when the landlords of Ireland received notice to quit, they might come to discover, when it was too late, that they would not be the last in the procession. He had done, for the present, with Roman Catholic priests of Ireland in their political character, and the review of their principles in that capacity was the last argument against the grant with which he should think it necessary to trouble the committee. He opposed that grant, because it would be employed to inculcate the tenets of what he believed to be a false and destructive faith. He opposed it, because the effects of that faith, in the form in which it was taught by the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland, were destructive of the moral, the social, and the political well-being of society. He opposed it, because the men whom it was voted to educate would allow free course to every species of publication which could inflame the passions, debase the principles, and vitiate the moral sense of society, — at the same time that they exerted every effort to exclude the volume which had God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter. He opposed the grant,

Mr. James E. Gordon.

because it would be employed to train and to place at their posts a band of political incendiaries, whose influence and efforts would be exerted to excite, to organise, and to direct the hostility of the population against the government and against the Protestantism of the empire.

Mr. O'Connor.

Mr. O'Connor expressed great regret at the speech which he had just heard from the Honourable Member for Dundalk, as calculated to excite rather than appease animosities in Ireland. That House was not the fit place for polemical discussions. It ought to be the fountain from which peace and harmony should be diffused in a thousand streams throughout the land. He must submit, that even a conviction on the mind of the Honourable Member that his own faith was pure did not warrant him in making violent attacks on the opinions of others—attacks which could never lead to the conversion of those whom the Honourable Member believed to be going astray, but which must tend rather to continue them in error. Allusions were made to the Kildare Street Society, which were not well timed, as they ought rather to have been made when the grant for education was before the House. He regretted that no means could be devised to put a stop to the unhappy dissensions that prevailed on the subject of education; for no one seemed to doubt but that there was every social and moral obligation on the legislature to

see that the people were properly educated. The education of the Catholic priest was one of the greatest importance; and it would be an act of the grossest injustice to withhold the grant from the College of Maynooth. Indeed, he had heard nothing approaching to the semblance of a reason why this should be done. This college was established with the understanding that the grant from government should be continued to it; and it would be a breach of faith to withdraw it at present. At the same time, it would be highly impolitic to do so; because the certain effect of it must be to produce great irritation and animosity among the people of Ireland. As a financial measure, it could not be regarded of any importance. It was formerly said, "Do not educate your priests abroad, for they will adopt the prejudices of foreigners;" and now, forsooth, complaints were made against the Irish priests that they entertained too strong national prejudices, which arose from their being educated at home. This appeared to him to be a complete solecism. It was objected that the Catholic priests in Ireland were opposed to the education of the people. In disproof of it, he appealed to the fact—which all those acquainted with Ireland were aware of—that every Catholic chapel in Ireland had a school attached to it, in the direction of which the priest took a very active part.

Mr. O'Connor.

Mr. Lefroy. *Mr. Lefroy* was anxious to rise immediately after the Honourable Member who had just sat down, as, though he could not concur in his reasoning, he wished to follow the tone and temper in which he had addressed the House. Indeed, he saw no reason why this subject might not be discussed without the necessity of wounding the feelings of one another, whether it were to be considered as a question of private conscience or of state policy. The Honourable Member had viewed it in the first light, and the Right Honourable the Secretary for Ireland had wished to consider it in the latter. He (Mr. Lefroy) was disposed to take the subject in both views. The state had made choice of a particular religion, and decided upon maintaining it as the true religion. He conscientiously concurred in the choice the state had made, and therefore felt bound, as a matter of private conscience as well as state policy, to secure to that religion a preference, and to resist any attempt to encourage or support an opposite system. This was not, as had been suggested, an arrogant assumption, that the private judgment of the Protestant should control the private judgment of the Roman Catholic; it was merely giving effect to the judgment of the state, by those who conscientiously concurred in it: nor did he see why this should give offence to any Honourable Member who happened to be a Roman Catholic, or be considered as any want

of toleration. For there was a vast, an essential difference between that toleration which would not refuse to bear with any other religion, and that spirit of liberalism — worse than indifference — which would give positive encouragement and support to opposite and conflicting creeds. He could not distinguish between what was now proposed and the having two established churches; in each of which the same state would be providing for the maintenance and education of ministers who would be bound conscientiously to teach opposite and conflicting doctrines. If this had been proposed at the time of the Reformation, would it have been listened to? If it had then been proposed that the state should have endowed an establishment for the maintenance and education of a body of the Roman Catholic clergy, would the Parliament which adopted the Reformation have listened to such a proposal? And where is now the difference? Whatever justification might be supposed to have been derived from the plea of necessity, when the Continent was shut out from the Roman Catholics by the war, has long since ceased. When it was said that Roman Catholics contribute to the maintenance and support of the established church, and therefore were entitled to a support for their own church, the argument proved too much: it would go to prove that we should have as many church establishments as we have religions; for the members of them all

Mr. Lefroy.

are as much bound as the Roman Catholic to contribute to the support and maintenance of the established church. Indeed, the Right Honourable Secretary seemed willing to lay hold of this argument; for he stated that the Presbyterians had an establishment supported by the state, for the maintenance and education of their clergy, —the Belfast institution. But this was a total mistake: such was not the object of that establishment; and he would undertake to say, that the only establishment in England or Ireland supported by the government, for the education of any clergy but those of the established church, was the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. Much had been said of the expediency of this grant, and he was free to confess that if it were open to decide the question upon the ground of expediency, much was to be said for it. But it was a question of principle — of religious principle and political consistency; and though it had been intimated that there might be danger in withdrawing this grant, he was of opinion that, for states as well as individuals, there was but one conscientious, one safe line to follow, — that was, to resolve to do right, and take the consequences. He had on these grounds voted for the motion on which the House had just divided, and must on the same grounds oppose the grant now proposed.

Mr. Petre. *Mr. Petre* concurred with his honourable friend (Mr. O'Connor) in the expression of deep

regret that a discussion of this kind should be introduced into that House. All that Honourable Members had to do with religion was to act up to its precepts, by doing their duty to the country, and by acting in charity with all mankind. These were obligations binding on men of every Christian denomination, without distinction of sect; but he feared that the observance of these duties would not be much promoted by entering into discussions which, when taken out of their place, tended to exasperate rather than to conciliate. He should give his cordial support to the motion before the committee, because he felt the refusal of it would only tend to alienate the affections of the people of Ireland. He could not understand the proposition of the Honourable Member for Tiverton when he said that liberalism in religion was infidelity in disguise, for he had been always taught to believe that liberalism in religion was nothing more than the universal charity of the Gospel!

Mr. Burge also regretted the introduction of religious discussion on this occasion, because he felt that such discussion tended only to disturb and destroy those feelings of charity and forbearance which Christianity inculcated alike on all its professors. He, therefore, did not rise to offer any objections to the grant on the ground of his religious difference from those for whom it was intended; but he nevertheless did object to it, because he found that His Majesty's go- Mr. Burge.

vernment, at the *same time that they continued this grant, expressed their intention of withdrawing those aids which Parliament had usually given for the protection and encouragement of several Protestant establishments in Ireland.* If he found that the protection and pecuniary aid of government were to be extended to the Kildare Street Society, and to other institutions which had for their object the promotion of education on Protestant principles in Ireland, then he should offer no objection to this grant; but when he found so different a measure was dealt out to establishments at one side from those of the other, he could not sanction the inequality. He therefore should oppose the motion.

Lord Ebrington.

Lord Ebrington said, that no speeches which he had heard in that House, on the subject of religion, had given him more pain than those which fell from the Honourable Gentlemen on both sides who joined in the earlier part of the discussion of that evening. But that had been much more than compensated by the gratification which he had derived from the speeches of the Honourable Member for the county of Roscommon and his honourable friend near him. If he wanted any thing to confirm him in his vote for this grant, — to satisfy him of the propriety of the part which he had always humbly taken in affording to all his Roman Catholic fellow subjects a participation in the constitutional rights and privileges which he, as a Protestant, enjoyed,

—he should have found it in the sentiments which he had had the satisfaction of hearing from the two gentlemen to whom he had alluded, and who were professors of the Roman Catholic creed. He was as conscientious a Protestant as any man in that House; but he did not think that it was any part of the religion of a conscientious Protestant to vilify the faith of any other sect of his fellow Christians. He did not think the adoption of such a course was at all calculated to prove a man's attachment to the Protestant religion. He had some experience in Ireland as to the state of that country, as to the condition of its people, and the character and conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy; and he could bear testimony to their exemplary diligence in the discharge of all their duties as sincere and pious Christian pastors. He gave his cordial assent to the motion, and he thought it would be an act of great injustice to the people of Ireland that the grant should be withheld.

Mr. Wyse said the question was, whether the Irish Catholics should have a good education or a bad one.* There was not a nation in Europe Mr. Wyse.

* The withholding of the grant seems here to be confounded by many with suppression of the college; whereas, on the contrary, all that has yet been prayed for has been, that all *national* support should be withdrawn—that the course of instruction there pursued may be investigated—and the college supported by those funds originally intended for that purpose. At a time when Roman Catholic churches, &c.

Mr. Wyse. which did not entertain such a degree of concern for the interests and welfare of those of its subjects, who might dissent from its established church, as to provide a certain description of education for them. The Honourable Gentleman who had opened this debate talked of no other system of the Christian religion than that which he professed, as being endurable: but what right had he to say that the College of Maynooth was anti-christian? Go where they would, wherever the dominion of England was established, and they would find the principles of religious toleration acknowledged and acted upon, and the means of education every where provided. It was so in Corfu, in Malta, in Hindostan, — in every part of the empire, where various creeds were professed and different forms of worship observed. Why, then, should it be denied in Ireland? He must bear testimony to the exemplary conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy, and to their zealous exertions in endeavouring to promote on all occasions the temporal and spiritual welfare of their flocks. It was a gross libel on that excellent body of men to say that they were opposed to the education of the people.

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are rising on all sides, assuming the splendour and ceremonies of former times, the want of funds wherewith to support — as other Dissenters — seminaries for the education of their own clergy, cannot be alleged. Mr. O'Connell admits that they do not care for the amount of the grant.

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As one proof that they were not so opposed, he might mention that they had very lately founded a college in the county which he represented (Tipperary), sufficient for the accommodation of 300 students; that admission was equally open to Protestants and Catholics; and that all the expenses of its erection had been defrayed from the funds of the Catholic clergy of the diocese.

Mr. Henry Grattan.

Mr. Henry Grattan said he should support the grant, because he highly approved of the system of education which it enabled Maynooth College to give. He regretted, however, that it was not more extensive in its operation. The true way to secure the British connection, and to keep the Catholics of Ireland attached to this country, was to educate them at home. It was most extraordinary to behold men like the Honourable Member for Dundalk and others, who had lived so long in the world — and who had learned so little — venting, at that time of day, the threadbare calumnies, the oft-refuted libels, and the disregarded and exploded cant which had been so often employed against the pious and exemplary Catholic clergy of Ireland, among whom the Protestant established clergy might find many examples worthy of imitation. Any one who had the honour of being acquainted with the Most Reverend Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, with the Right Reverend Dr. Curtis, and the Right Reverend Dr. M'Cabe, and many other distinguished members

of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, would admit them to be men of high distinction in literary attainments, and still more distinguished for their eminent virtues as Christian bishops. As to the answer of the Catholic clergyman of Newtownbarry, which had been read by the Honourable Member for Dundalk, he must say, he thought it extremely unfair and illiberal to take an isolated fact of this kind (even assuming that it deserved the character the Honourable and gallant Member had given to it) as a specimen of the conduct of the whole of the Catholic clergy of Ireland. But he denied that the letter of the Rev. Mr. Burke deserved the censure cast upon it. The reverend gentleman was at the moment suffering under the natural irritation which any man must feel at having a considerable number of his parishioners, he might say, wantonly destroyed.

Mr. A. Johnston.

Mr. A. Johnston said, — As an elder of the Church of Scotland, I feel bound to object to the proposed grant. At this late hour, and considering the present temper of the House, I shall only state a very few reasons which weigh strongly with me on the present occasion. I regret, Sir, that the Honourable Member for Tiverton took up this question on the low ground, and did not consider it in what I may term an out-and-out manner. As an office-bearer of the Church of Scotland, to which I reckon it an honour to belong — a church which has done more good

for her people, I may say, than almost any other church in existence — I cannot consent that the people of Scotland should be taxed for the support of an institution for instruction in the tenets of the Roman faith, which my church holds to be idolatrous. The Honourable Member for Kerry has said that this is a paltry grant; if so, why does he condescend to accept it? But, Sir, a portion of that grant must be contributed by the country to which I belong; and to this, as long as I hold the place of a legislator here, I shall never consent. I agree, Sir, in opinion with those who hold that the evils to which Ireland has so long been subjected are not owing altogether to misgovernment, but mainly to the influence of the papistical faith. Sir, I do not rest this assertion on speculative theories, but on historical facts, which I will not at present dwell upon. I must not, however, omit to notice the extraordinary reception which several petitions from Presbyterians on the subject of this grant have met with in this Honourable House. I particularly allude to two petitions, which I have carefully considered, and which contain merely abstract propositions founded on the Confession of Faith—the Articles of the Church of Scotland; and yet the proposed printing of these petitions was in no ordinary manner refused. Sir, the petition from Glasgow was subscribed by twenty-one ministers of the established church, nearly one hundred elders, and by five

Mr. A. Johnston.

Mr. A. Johnston. Dissenting clergymen. I am sure if the Honourable Member for Preston had been acquainted with the creed of the Church of Scotland, he would not have applied the term of "pitiful spite" to these most respectable petitioners. Sir, I trust I may say that this House is still a Protestant House of Commons, and that the Honourable Catholic Members around me (and to whom I beg to disclaim the smallest intention of giving offence), are only tolerated here, having first taken a solemn oath that they will do nothing to disturb or weaken the Protestant faith, or the Protestant government. But how do we stand? A few nights ago the Honourable Member for Louth, in speaking of the Established Church of Ireland (a church for which, I may state, I have no particular affection, and which I am not here to defend, but which, as a Protestant Church, has strong claims to my support), that Honourable Member said he was not "her enemy, but by instinct he could not be her friend." And the Honourable Member for Kerry also declared, a short time since, that he "believed the Protestant faith to be false." Sir, I was friendly to Catholic emancipation; but, hearing such extraordinary doctrines around me, I would pause, and ask if the legislature did wisely in admitting Roman Catholics to seats in that House. I shall not trespass farther on the time of the House at this late hour, but merely to state that I concur in

the sentiments which have been expressed by my honourable friend the Member for Dundalk on this subject, and that I shall vote against the grant to Maynooth.

Mr. Ralph Howard trusted that the House would feel that he was not called upon in that place to enter upon religious discussion. He would remind Honourable Members that he was one of those Roman Catholic Members who voted the grant of 21,000*l.* for the maintenance of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and that the Honourable Member who spoke last did not hear from him, or from any other person professing his religion, any abusive attacks on the faith of the Presbyterians. If the Catholics of Ireland were not taxed for the support of a church to which they did not belong, they would not require such a paltry sum as this. Mr. Ralph Howard.

Sir Richard Musgrave defended the Catholic clergy from the imputations which had been cast upon them, and said that they were, in fact, the preservers of the peace in Ireland. They were the zealous promoters of education among their flocks, and, in fact, no body of men could pay a more constant and diligent attention to the duties of their sacred calling than they did. On these grounds he should give his cordial support to the motion. Sir R. Musgrave.

Motion agreed to. The House resumed.

April 11. 1832. Mr. Andrew Johnston.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.*—*Mr. Andrew Johnston* presented a petition from the ministers, elders, and inhabitants of Aberdeen, praying that the annual grant to Maynooth College be discontinued. The petitioners considered the principles on which support to the Romish faith was given as unconstitutional, and they called the attention of the House to those countries where that faith prevailed, in order to demonstrate the melancholy evils which flowed from its profession. They submitted that the view they took, in their petition, must be received and acceded to by every man who examined the Sacred Scriptures for himself, and that, indeed, no other could be received on any purely religious principle. They said that such a grant, on the mere ground of expediency, could not be defended; and they did not see how it was possible for any evil to the state to arise from withholding it; and they concluded by imploring the House to discontinue the grant accordingly. He agreed with the prayer of the petition, for he was convinced the government was violating the Protestant principle by encouraging the Roman Catholic priests to make extracts from the Bible for the education of Protestant children. He understood that the proportion of the money paid by Scotland for the purpose of educating the Catholic clergy already amounted

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. xii. p. 306. (April 11. 1832.)

to 50,000*l.*, and he, as a Presbyterian, felt that such a course ought no longer to be continued.

Mr. James E. Gordon supported the prayer of the petition, which, he could assure the House, emanated from an exemplary and intelligent body, whose sentiments were entitled to the most serious consideration. It was wholly unjust, in his opinion, that money should be allowed for the education of Catholic priests, when the scriptural education in the Kildare Street Society schools was suppressed. Mr. James E. Gordon.

Colonel Torrens was surprised at the obliquity of understanding which could induce Honourable Members to support such preposterous petitions as that now brought before the House. It was asserted that it was wrong for a Protestant country to appropriate money for the education of Catholic priests; but did it not strike Honourable Members who made that observation, that it was equally as wrong to make the Irish Catholics support the Protestant Church? Colonel Torrens.

Mr. Trevor supported the petition; he thought there was nothing whatever in it which merited the term preposterous. If any thing could be called preposterous, it was the withdrawal of a grant from a society that had done so much good by the promotion of scriptural religion in Ireland, whilst encouragement was to be held out by a grant to this Catholic college for the education of Roman Catholic priests. Mr. Trevor.

Mr. Hume. *Mr. Hume* thought the grant to Maynooth a most politic measure, because it enabled the Roman Catholic priests to be educated without going, as formerly, to foreign lands; and to withdraw this grant would be at once unjust, illiberal, and impolitic. If the principles of the Honourable Member were acted on, a truly practical state of intolerance would be the result. The Protestants of Ireland, living, as he might say, in a Catholic country, received a large sum from the public; but, in England, the Catholics got not a farthing from the public. The Presbyterians in Scotland received much more than all the 6,000,000 of Catholics in Ireland. He knew the petitioners to be excellent men in private life, but their views of things were limited.

Mr. Lefroy. *Mr. Lefroy* differed in his opinion of the law and policy of the Honourable Member for Middlesex. The grant to Maynooth College was founded on the worst policy, for the state ought not to support opposite and conflicting religious opinions. When a part of the Catholic Church thought fit to reform itself, its livings and its property continued in the hands of its members; they only changed their religion; but that part of the church lands which was connected with monasteries was granted by Parliament to the crown, who transferred it to lay holders. If there were any church robbers, the laity were the guilty parties. The Protestants had never despoiled the Catholics; therefore he doubted

the law of the Honourable Member for Middlesex.

Sir Robert Inglis said that the subject of complaint was, that the grant should be continued to Catholics, and withheld from Protestants. The only ground on which this grant could be defended was, as a sort of national compact formed at the Union; but other compacts of the same nature had been altered, and he saw no reason why this should be maintained inviolate. He fully agreed with the remark of the Honourable Member who preceded him, that the property had never been taken by Protestants from Catholics, but was equally church property before the Reformation. Sir Robert Inglis.

Mr. James Grattan said that it was distressing to hear such discussions every night — to hear Honourable Members say that the two religions were not compatible. Ministers would find it difficult to govern a country with such conduct on the part of members. Were the Honourable Gentlemen doing their duty when they had suffered the grant to Maynooth College to go on from 1795, without complaining? Now they came forward, only because they were sore on another subject which had no reference to this. The grant at first was very politic; it was given in order that the college students of divinity might study in Ireland instead of going to France, where such violent principles then pre- Mr. James Grattan.

Sir F. Trench. *Sir F. Trench* said that he was one who was always opposed to the grant to Maynooth College.

Mr. Lambert. *Mr. Lambert* conceived the grant to rest upon this point: — Are the Catholics to be educated as Christians, or not at all? If the former was intended, then the grant was highly proper.

Mr. Andrew Johnston. *Mr. Andrew Johnston*, in moving that the petition be printed, said that some of the persons were well known for their scientific acquirements, and he considered their opinion well worth attending to.

Mr. M. O'Connell. *Mr. Maurice O'Connell* begged the House to remember, that the grant had not been sought by the Catholics. The government of the time had thought it proper to propose it to them.* He would defy the gentlemen who opposed to give an instance in which the Catholic priests had not endeavoured to preserve the peace: he had met them politically and spiritually, and he always found their efforts devoted to the maintenance of quiet.

Petition to be printed.

July 10. 1832. Mr. James Gordon. MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.† — *Mr. James E. Gordon* presented a petition from Glasgow against the grant to the College of Maynooth.

* This appears to be directly contrary to the terms of the memorial to government, as stated by Sir Arthur Wellesley, *antè*, p. 166, 177.

† Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. xiv. p. 214. (July 10. 1832.)

Upon the motion that it be printed, —

Mr. O'Connell opposed the printing of the petition, from its containing the word *idolatry*. He thought that the language of polemics should not be introduced into Parliament; for if such were the case, terms enough of abuse would be found on both sides. The Honourable Gentleman opposite (Mr. A. Johnston), and the Gentleman near him (Captain Gordon), seemed exceedingly anxious to convert himself and others to their doctrine; but he begged to assure him that the use of abusive language would never effect such an object. For his own part, he frequently treated such conduct with silence; but he could not permit a petition from some place or the other in the wilds of Scotland, when ancient feuds and bad feelings were called into account, to be printed. It might lie on the table. He would say for his Catholic brethren, that they would rather perish at the stake than submit to idolatry. He had never presented a petition containing the word *heretic*. Mr. O'Connell.

Mr. Dundas entertained the same opinion as the petitioners. If any petitions did come from the wilds of Scotland, they were always couched in respectful language; and if the petition were not printed by the order of the House, it would be, at the cost of the petitioners. Mr. Dundas.

Mr. Sheil observed that this petition contained phrases equally objectionable with those Mr. Sheil.

contained in a former petition presented by the Honourable Member. It talked of Catholics being red with the blood of the saints.

Mr. James E. Gordon.

Mr. James E. Gordon contended that no language was made use of that was not to be found in the standard works of the Protestant Church.

Question negatived.

April 18. 1834. Mr. Sinclair.

COLLEGE OF MAYNOOTH. — *Mr. Sinclair* had not expected that this vote would have been brought on this evening, which, as he understood, was to have been devoted to the discussion upon Irish tithes; and he regretted the consequent absence of his honourable friend the Member for Oxford, and others, who felt a decided objection to this grant. But although the sentiments which he entertained were by no means popular in the House, yet, as he had conscientiously adopted them, he should not shrink from the duty of a candid and public avowal. He could not forget the nature of that solemn oath which he had more than once taken at that table, — an oath which involved the principle that the Popish worship was, in his opinion, to say the least of it, irreconcilable with scripture truth, — an oath which, though now abolished, yet stood recorded, as far as he was concerned, in heaven, and which he could not have safely taken *then*, if he did not fearlessly

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. xxii. p. 608. (April 18. 1834.)

adhere to it *now*. He deemed the College of Maynooth a great source of the evils which afflicted Ireland; that it was a dangerous institution; and those who were educated there were, in the opinion of those persons whom he considered as best qualified to judge, less well affected than others to the institutions of their country. He thought that without any impeachment of their motives, or derogation from the principles of Roman Catholic priests, they were bound by duty, as well as prompted by inclination, to labour with unremitting and zealous assiduity, and with a feeling that they were doing God service, not only to overturn the Protestant Church in Ireland, but to subvert the Protestant religion under every possible modification. The celibacy of the Popish clergy, which severed them from many domestic ties, caused the current of their affections to run the more strongly and more exclusively in favour of the Romish Church, which was by them considered as father, and sister, and brother, and mother. This was his deliberate persuasion; and he should think he betrayed the cause of his country and of his God, if he voted a national provision for the education of individuals who must direct the best energies of their minds to the overthrow of those principles which he deemed most essential to the public good. He should as soon think of granting money to a college for the education of officers who, when carefully trained at the public

Celibacy of the Roman Catholic clergy.

Mr. Sinclair. expense, would direct all their efforts to the subversion of our institutions. Every Protestant must be a rebel against lawful authority, in the estimation of every priest. It was true that the Papal power was at present at a low ebb: the loudest thunders of the Vatican, if wielded by the successor and namesake of those who excommunicated the Emperors Henry IV. and Frederick II., Henry IV. of France and Queen Elizabeth, would not now shake the weakest of sovereigns on his throne, or seduce the wickedest of his subjects from their allegiance. But the spirit of *papal domination was unchangeable, and unchanged; and the Romish priests viewed all the Protestant realms throughout the world* with the same jealousy and indignation which Ferdinand VII. experienced, when he saw the revolted colonies in South America enjoying that independence which they had earned by shaking off his hateful yoke; and which independence, though he could not annihilate the colonies, he never would acknowledge. Between the Protestant and the Papist he considered that, in regard to religion, there was a great gulf fixed. The Presbyterian could receive with joyfulness and brotherly affection from the hands of the Protestant bishops, the sacred symbols of a Saviour's dying love; the Baptist might derive edification from the ministrations of the Independent; but — although there were some exceptions — it was undoubtedly the rule, that

the Roman Catholics would deem it a profanation to approach the Protestant altar, to read the Protestant Bible, or to join *in the domestic worship of the Protestant family*. With these sentiments, and with many other reasons which he would not obtrude upon a reluctant audience, he should deem it a sacred duty, as an elder of that church which had experienced Popish persecution in its infancy, and had always borne testimony against Popish doctrines, to enter a solemn protest against the grant now proposed.

Lord Clements.

Lord Clements said, that after the very extraordinary speech which the House had just heard, it would be their bounden duty to make some arrangement which would take this grant out of the estimates, and settle it in some other way, so as to relieve the Roman Catholics from the grievance of having year after year, on the introduction of this vote, to complain of misrepresentation and distortion of their opinions and intentions, put forth by gentlemen who happened to differ in opinion from what, in Ireland, might be called the religion of the country. When gentlemen of that House remembered that the country for which this grant was proposed was almost entirely Catholic, it should have the effect of lessening their zeal. If the institution were more liberally supported, it would be reasonable to calculate that a class of candidates for the priesthood more eligible would be found than those who at present sought admission; and the

character of the Catholic priests would be exalted to its proper dignity.

Mr. Spring Rice.

Mr. Spring Rice was sure that his honourable friend would not have made the speech he had just now heard, nor have offered the opposition to the vote just now before them, if he was at all aware of the effect such a line of conduct must produce in the minds of deeply religious and conscientious people; if he knew that his words would be denounced and repeated from one end of Ireland to the other; if he had been in the least degree aware that his individual opinion would be proclaimed throughout Ireland, as the opinion of any proportion of that House. He begged to remind Honourable Members that the vote was one of ancient date; introduced under the recommendation of Mr. Burke, and continued under the sanction of Mr. Pitt, when every possible inducement was held out to the candidates of the Irish priests to seek for education in foreign countries.

Though concurring generally with his honourable friend, yet he hoped that the means of maintaining the College of Maynooth would not be removed from a Committee of Supply; for it was important, in his opinion, that it should not only proceed directly from the House, but that it should be made annually. He was an advocate, on various grounds, for the continuance of this grant; and would ask, was the present a time in which such a vote ought to be rejected?

Was it in the year 1834 that a great nation and a powerful priesthood should be made to feel that their loyalty and attachment to British connection and their native country, that their rejection of foreign offers, in times of difficulty and danger, were ungratefully forgotten? Did any Honourable Member suppose that, if the money was withdrawn, that immediately thereupon the College of Maynooth would cease to exist? So far from any result of that description being in the remotest degree probable, he had not the slightest difficulty in saying that, if an evil as it now stood, that evil would be immeasurably increased; and that the new institution, rising on the ruins of the old, would stand forth disfigured by many defects from which the present establishment was altogether free. The population of Ireland would, as one man, stand forward with pecuniary aid for the Romish College of Maynooth, influenced as much by a desire to support that institution, as by a wish to mark their indignation at any refusal of the customary grant. He had spoken to the House as one might who conscientiously dissented from the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church; for, if the question was, whether or not they were now to create a religion, he would at once say No: but, having found it in existence, what were they to do? Were they to leave the clergy of that persuasion without suitable means of education? He was far from

Mr. Spring Rice.

saying that the College of Maynooth was all that it might advantageously be made. He could wish to see a more liberal course of study established there, and a higher class of students attracted to that seat of learning. It was a fallacy to suppose that mere cheapness brought students to Maynooth; for education could be obtained upon lower terms abroad. The Right Honourable Gentleman bore testimony to the excellent character of the priests educated at Maynooth, and expressed a hope that in future they would not mix up polemics with politics, for, as it had often been said, *religion perverted politics, and politics degraded religion.*

Mr. Cutlar Fergusson. *Mr. Cutlar Fergusson* was decidedly of opinion that the grant was too small; and thought it right to say that there were few persons in Scotland who participated in the sentiments which the House had that evening heard, and to which they must have listened with the greater surprise, when they recollected that the people of Ireland so largely contributed to the maintenance of an established church from which they derived no advantage.

Mr. Littleton. *Mr. Littleton* said, the only feeling of the Irish government on the subject was that of regret at so niggardly a grant being made; and whatever defects were to be found in the system of education at Maynooth were entirely attributable to the parsimonious scale upon which its expenses were conducted.

Mr. James Johnstone declared that, as a Protestant, he was adverse to such an application of the public money as was involved in the present vote; as a conscientious Protestant he could not bring himself to vote away any portion of the public money for the maintenance of that which he believed to be a false religion. He must therefore express his hearty concurrence in the statements of the Honourable Member for Caithness. Mr. James Johnstone.

Lord Mandeville said that the documents of the Roman Catholic Church were decidedly hostile to the existence of Protestantism. The House, if it granted this vote, placed itself in a dilemma by its maintenance of heresy; for if it could not prove Catholics heretics, Protestantism must acknowledge itself guilty of schism. From the first moment of entering that House, he felt the necessity of opposing the grant then under consideration, on the ground that it would be inconsistent in a House, exclusive as that then was, to support a vote which granted money for the purpose of educating a priesthood the duty of which was to circulate doctrines different from and hostile to those which the granters of the money believed to be the true ones. He could not now urge this line of argument, for the House had changed its character, and was no longer *exclusively* Protestant. It had been insisted that the priests educated at Maynooth exhibited an inclination more favourable to the Lord Mandeville.

British connection than those educated on the Continent; but there lately occurred a case in Cork, where a priest educated at Maynooth gave but a bad specimen of the system pursued there. He did not intend to say that individual cases formed general rules; but a case of this nature could not be overlooked. At the last assizes in Cork, it had been proved that a priest had connived at the murder of one of His Majesty's subjects, by withholding evidence which would acquit the accused; and for this purpose he made an evasive use of his sacerdotal privileges; but when the question was put to him, whether the evidence which he withheld was given under the seal of confession, he was obliged to acknowledge that it was not. This was but an individual instance, to be sure; but, coupled with other things, it might serve to argue a general inclination. As to what had been said by the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. S. Rice) with respect to the year 1834, he (Lord Mandeville) did not see the force of the application. Instead of urging it as a reason for supporting this grant, it was, on the contrary, an additional one which might be urged in opposition to it, as the circumstance to which it referred furnished new grounds why no grants for the support of any exclusive establishment should be brought before the House.

Mr. Lefroy. *Mr. Lefroy* allowed every Honourable Gentlemen in that House full scope for the expression

of his opinion; but the same licence which he granted to others, he would also look for at their hands. He felt it due to himself to deliver his conscience from the self-reproach of permitting this vote to pass without an objection. *He could not understand the inconsistency of those who, professing one religion, voted funds for the propagation of another whose doctrines they believed to be erroneous.* He believed in the error of those doctrines, and thus believing, he felt bound, in the honesty of his conscientious conviction, to oppose the vote, and meet with a decided negative a grant in which — though he might not be able to prevent it — he would not concur.

Mr. Baldwin said that the Catholic religion was established beyond any power in the state to put it down; and that, whether this grant were made or no, its tenets would continue to prevail in Ireland. The question, therefore, was, whether the House would assist in yielding to those who were to be its ministers a full and sufficient education to enable them to impart useful instruction to the persons submitted to their ministry. To convert the Roman Catholic priests to any other persuasion of Christianity would be a hopeless task; and it was therefore the duty of an enlightened legislature to afford to those who had the government of the popular mind every facility which would fit them to fulfil their duties in the most beneficial manner. "Exterminate" was no term to apply in the way

Mr. Baldwin.

in which it had been applied; and on the part of the Catholic body, he denied that they had any such intention or wish. *All men who believed firmly were anxious to make converts to that belief:* and it would scarcely be denied that this was the disposition of all religious sects. Beyond this the Catholics did not go. There were other colleges in Ireland for the education of Catholic clergymen, which, even if the grant to Maynooth were withheld, would increase in public patronage, and the propagation of the Catholic religion — so dreadful — would increase in proportion, whilst, at the same time, the Irish people would naturally say that they owed nothing to the British government, which, whilst it extracted so much from the country in so many shapes, was still unwilling to grant a small pittance in return for the education of their clergy. As to the charge against a particular individual, brought by the Noble Lord, the very friends of that clergyman would and did admit that his conduct in this instance was censurable; but was the act of an individual to be visited upon a whole body—a whole nation? If such was the standard — if the conduct of an individual was to be the test, he would fearlessly ask, in that House, what sect, what religion would be free from the grossest accusation?

Mr. Andrew Johnston.

Mr. A. Johnston complained that no intimation had been given that this important vote would be brought on to-night, and declared that, if he only

received the support of two members, he would divide the committee against it. He had heard no argument adduced in the course of the present discussion which could soothe the conscience of any sincere Presbyterian for voting in favour of the proposed grant. *If money was to be voted for the encouragement of Popery, what, he asked, was the use of the Reformation?* He was told that Popery had of late years changed its character; but he was at a loss to discover any change which the Roman Catholic religion, unchangeable and infallible as it had ever been assumed to be by those who professed it, had undergone. What was the use of the Articles of the Church of England, or of the Church of Scotland, when so many members of that House, belonging to both those churches, were ready to support the proposed grant? In the Articles of the Scotch Church he found the doctrines of the Church of Rome stigmatised as idolatrous; and could he then, holding as he did a spiritual office in the Church of Scotland, with any consistency, give his consent to a grant of money to be applied to the instruction of the Roman Catholic priests? He was somewhat surprised to hear the Honourable and Learned Member for Kirkcudbright express his concurrence in the present vote. He fancied that the Honourable and Learned Member would find that his constituents entertained a very different opinion on the subject. But the Honourable and Learned

Mr. A. Johnston.

Member had travelled in the East; and he supposed this circumstance had liberalised his ideas, and caused him to reject all those old-fashioned prejudices to which strict and honest Presbyterians still pertinaciously adhered. The Right Honourable Secretary for Ireland also intended to support the vote; nay, he carried his liberality still further, for it appeared from the newspapers, *that he had been pleased to give a liberal donation towards the building of a Roman Catholic church.* This, of course, was all in keeping with the liberal notions entertained by the Right Honourable Secretary; but if the Right Honourable Secretary was a member of the Church of England, all he could say was, "Alas for the principles of the Right Honourable Secretary!" The Honourable Gentleman the Secretary for the Treasury had expressed a hope that politics and religion might never be united. *He hoped, on the contrary, that they would never be separated; for if ever they were, he believed ruin and desolation would fall on the empire of Britain.*

Mr. Spring Rice.

Mr. Spring Rice denied that there was anything unusual or unfair in the manner in which the present vote had been brought forward. He had not expressed any wish to separate religious and political feelings; but he had complained of the introduction of polemics into the House of Commons; and nothing that had fallen from the Honourable Member had induced him to change his opinion.

Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, having been pointedly alluded to by the Honourable Member (Mr. A. Johnston), begged to observe, that he was prepared to justify, before his constituents, every sentiment he had uttered. Those sentiments were, he admitted, liberal; but he would assert they were Christian: and he was prepared to vote money, not only for the education of the Catholic clergy, but, if necessary, of the Hindoo priesthood too, because he was convinced that religious instruction tended to civilise men, and to make them better subjects. Mr. Cutlar Fergusson.

Mr. Brotherton felt no objection to the proposed grant, and, though not belonging to either the Church of England or the Church of Rome, he was ready to admit that there was a good deal of truth contained in the doctrines of both. If, however, he felt any objection to the grant of money to a clergy not teaching the same belief as he professed, that objection would apply as strongly against the Church of England as against the Church of Rome. Mr. Brotherton.

Mr. Gillon deeply regretted that any Scotchman should have given utterance to such sentiments as had fallen from the Honourable Member opposite. That Honourable Member had asked, what was there to soothe the consciences of Presbyterians for voting in favour of the proposed grant? and he should like, in return, to be informed, what was there to soothe the consciences of the millions of Dissenters of this Mr. Gillon.

empire, and the Catholic peasantry of Ireland, who were heavily taxed for the support of doctrines to which they could not give their assent? In his opinion it was highly creditable to Scotland, that so few of her representatives had spoken against the proposed grant.

Mr. Edward Ruthven.

Mr. Edward Ruthven denied that the Noble Lord (Mandeville) had formed a proper estimate of the Irish character. The Noble Lord, it was true, had made the tour of Ireland; but in what capacity?—as a Methodist preacher; but many itinerant preachers were much better acquainted with the feelings of the people, and more extensively versed in divinity, than the Noble Lord.

Mr. O'Reilly.

Mr. O'Reilly said that, after the attacks which had been made on the Catholic clergy, he was sure that the Irish people, who could not but apply to themselves the aspersions cast on their spiritual instructors, would be glad to see the grant withdrawn for the present, and brought forward on another opportunity, with a view to having its merits fully discussed. He, for one, shared in all the sentiments entertained by the Catholic clergy of Ireland, and he asked the House to decide whether he was inclined to exterminate the Protestants? He protested against the imputation thrown out against the Roman Catholic clergy, and declared the statements made by the Noble Lord (Mandeville), that the Catholics were arrayed against all lawful authority, insulting and unfounded.

Lord Mandeville was not aware that he had charged the Catholics with being arrayed against all lawful authority; neither had he imputed to the Catholics a wish to exterminate the *Protestants;* all that he had said was, that they must desire to exterminate the *Protestant faith.* Lord Mandeville.

The committee then divided, when there appeared —

Ayes	- - - -	137
Noes	- - - -	11
	Majority - -	126

Several other votes were agreed to, and the House resumed.

GRANT TO MAYNOOTH.* — *Mr. Stewart Mackenzie* said, — I rise, Sir, to present a petition signed by the moderator, and agreed to by the reverend ministers of the synod of the county of Ross. The petition is short, but relates to two most important subjects — the grants of money to the College of Maynooth and to the Irish national education plan. With the leave of the House, I will read the paragraphs, and, though unwilling to originate a debate at this moment on those subjects, I hope that the circumstance of my presenting a petition, with parts of which I do not agree in opinion, will be a sufficient apology with the House for my trespassing a June 4. 1834. Mr. Stewart Mackenzie.

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. xxviii. p. 529. (June 4. 1834.)

Mr. Stewart Mackenzie.

short time upon its indulgence. It states, "That your petitioners are deeply impressed with the importance of scriptural education, as the true and only foundation of national morality, and as the only education that can make wise unto salvation." I am, Sir, not only not disposed to doubt or contest the truth of this first paragraph of the petition, but I should hail with satisfaction the prospect of the arrival of that moment when throughout our land, among the rich as well as among the poor, the national morality shall be universally founded on and confirmed by an education primarily scriptural. Though it would be deemed sanguine in me were I to declare the period not distant, I may be permitted to express my entire concurrence in these sentiments of the petitioners. I wish I could say that my views were in accordance with those set forth in the only other paragraph, which states "that they deprecate the annual parliamentary grants of national money towards supporting the Popish College of Maynooth, and the new system of anti-scriptural education in Ireland, as national sins."

The first part of this paragraph distinctly, and in most unmeasured terms, briefly, but comprehensively, denounces the grant to Maynooth College as a national sin. Now, Sir, though aware how influential—how justly influential—the reverend members of the synod must be with their parishioners in guiding and directing their

opinions, I cannot, in candour, conceal from the House my difference of opinion from that of the petitioners, in whatever degree the avowal may elsewhere operate to my disadvantage. Besides, the uncontroverted fact of the grant to Maynooth having been made for several years before the union with Ireland (for nearly forty years altogether), — considering that the amount of that grant has never amounted to 9500*l.*, except in one year, when an increase for additional buildings was intended, and that it did not then exceed 13,000*l.*, — when I recollect that this is the only provision made by the nation for the education of the priests of that religion which is professed in Ireland by above six millions of our fellow subjects, — I feel called upon, in candour, to avow, on presenting this petition, that I consider it to be the duty of the legislature not to withdraw the grant destined for fitly educating the Irish Catholic priests. While I advance this opposite opinion to that of the petitioners, I do so with great diffidence, but with perfect sincerity. (Mr. Mackenzie here read an extract from Report of 1827, *antè*, p. 38.) One word more, Sir, on the prayer of the petition, which prays your Honourable House to discontinue the forementioned grants, and to discourage the rising spirit of Popery, which threatens to destroy the best institutions of the realm in Church and State. I, for one, Sir, deny that, more than proportionably with the increased population of the united king-

Mr. Stewart Mackenzie.

Mr. Stewart Mackenzie.

dom, Popery is on the increase *; but even were it so, would it be in accordance with a Christian

* A comparison of the very small number of Roman Catholic chapels in England at the close of the last century, and the statistics of the Roman Catholic Church in Great Britain at the present time, may serve to remove any such doubt.

Total of chapels in England and Wales, 474. Total of chapels in Scotland, 66; besides 20 stations where divine service is performed.—Grand total of [Roman] Catholic churches and chapels in Great Britain, 540.

Then with reference to Roman catholic colleges.

In England there are nine, viz. — St. Edmunds, Hertfordshire; St. Mary's, Staffordshire; St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and St. Gregory's, Somersetshire; Ushaw College, Durham; Stonyhurst, Lancashire; St. Lawrence's, Yorkshire; German, Worcestershire.

In Scotland, one, viz.—St. Mary's, Blair, Kincardineshire.

As to convents, there are 19, viz. — In the London district, 4; Central, 5; Lancashire, 1; Yorkshire, 2; Northern district, 1; Western, 5; Scotland, 1.

The number of missionary priests in Great Britain is as follows: —

England: —London district, 106; Central, 110; Eastern, 31; Western, 58; Lancashire, 121; Yorkshire, 59; Northern, 54; Wales, 19; — total in England, 561.

Scotland: — Eastern district, 21; Western, 33; Northern, 27; — total in Scotland, 81. — Grand total, 642.*

Such, at this moment, is the number of Roman Catholic chapels, colleges, and convents in Great Britain, and the number of Roman Catholic priests, "having all the advantages resulting from a division the most minute, accompanied by a perfect centralisation."

* See "The Catholic Directory for 1841," where the names of places, persons, &c. are given more in detail.

spirit, with the profession of religious toleration which we avow, to take away their means of education from the priests of a religion whose duty it is to instruct so many millions of our fellow subjects (though differing in doctrine from the petitioners); or could we justify to ourselves the withdrawal of those funds destined by the state for purposes of education in Ireland? Whatever may be the creed of the instructed, without a fuller and longer trial of the plan, he trusted that, while stating, with all deference, his difference of opinion from the reverend synod, he had not abused the indulgence of the House so kindly extended to him.

Petition laid on the table.

June 19. 1835. Mr. Serjeant Jackson.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.* — *Mr. Serjeant Jackson* presented a petition from several hundred inhabitants in Cork, praying that no further grant of public money might be allowed for Maynooth College. The petitioners complained that the *interference of the Roman Catholic clergy had done away with all freedom of election*, and that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were well able to support that establishment, as they paid as voluntary contributions to one man more than would support the college twice over. The clergymen educated at Maynooth by the public bounty were not at all the most efficient promoters of peace and good-will among the Irish

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. xxviii. p. 896. (June 19. 1835.)

people; for it was a notorious fact, of which every day's experience furnished lamentable illustration, that they turned their chapels into political arenas, and used their pulpits as *rostra* from which to spout the most inflammatory doctrines to their misguided and credulous flocks;—in fact, English gentlemen could form no adequate conception of the extent to which the priests carried the agitation disturbance. Every thing English and Protestant was the subject of unceasing and unmitigated attacks, by the present race of priests educated at Maynooth; at every election, they were the busiest agents, and the greatest promoters of disturbance.

Mr. O'Dwyer

Mr. O'Dwyer said the Protestant clergy interfered much more, and more mischievously, at elections, than the priests.

Mr. Shaw.

Mr. Shaw denied that there was any comparison between the two bodies. The Roman Catholic clergy proposed and nominated candidates, and dragged the freeholders to the place of polling, in a manner which, if it had been done by a Protestant clergyman, he should consider most disgraceful. The Protestant clergy, no doubt, exercised the right of suffrage; but then they did not go beyond the pale of that right, and become the stimulators to outrage and violence. Look to the conduct of the Catholic clergy that week in Carlow; they were then found proposing and seconding the candidates; and, not content with that, they were exerting

all the influence their station and calling gave them, in marring the *independence and purity of election*, by coercing the will of the electors, and goading on the populace to violence and outrage. Their power, if not checked, *would supersede the power of all law and government, and spread general confusion and discord throughout the country.*

Mr. O'Connell took the liberty of saying that the statements of the Right Honourable and Learned Gentleman were totally false. It was true that Catholic clergymen had spoken at elections, and seconded the nomination of candidates; for instance, one of them seconded Mr. Vigors, a Protestant member. Their speeches were printed and published, and it could be seen that they did not deserve the character given them by the correspondents of the Right Honourable Gentleman, as to their exciting violence. Were there not many persons in Ireland who would be ready, and were exceedingly anxious for opportunities, to prosecute them, if they said one word that would make them liable. But their protection was, that they carefully avoided violating the law, whilst as men and citizens they exercised that right to which they were entitled. But, on the other hand, there was violence used against the Catholics by the Orange party, particularly in one county, for no other reason but because they were Catholics. Was the Right Honourable Gentleman aware that almost all the Protestant

Mr. O'Connell.

clergy interfered with elections? [*No, no!*] He would tell them of *one* case where they did, and he could mention various, if he chose — Mr. Mahon, of Dromore. But he utterly denied the charge against the Catholic clergy.

Mr. Shaw. *Mr. Shaw* would call the recollection of the House to a recent occasion on which the Honourable and Learned Member made the same assertion respecting other correspondence which he (Mr. Shaw) had received. The Honourable and Learned Member then as confidently asserted as he had now, that his (Mr. Shaw's) information was false. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman was ever ready with his confident assertions, which were afterwards disproved. But what was the result in the case he alluded to when inquiry was made? He would leave that to the judgment of the House.

Mr. O'Connell. *Mr. O'Connell.*—What case do you allude to?

Mr. Shaw. *Mr. Shaw.* — The case of David Murphy.

Mr. O'Connell. *Mr. O'Connell* said, he would deny that his assertions were disproved in that case. Mr. Shaw's own documents did not substantiate his former accusation.

Mr. Shaw. *Mr. Shaw.*—I leave that to the judgment of the House and the country.

Petition to lie on the table.

Aug. 8. 1830. MAYNOOTH.* — On the proposition "That a

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. xxxv. p. 1021. (Aug. 8. 1830.)

sum of 8928*l.* be granted for the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth," —

Colonel Perceval observed, that he had repeatedly recorded by his vote his objection to the proposed grant, and he entertained as strong an objection to it at present as at any former period. His Honourable Friend the Member for Durham, had given notice of a motion for next session, when he intended to move for a committee to inquire into the system of education pursued at Maynooth College. He hoped, therefore, that his Honourable Friends would not then insist upon a division; if they did, he should certainly feel it his duty to record his vote against the motion; but he trusted that, under the circumstances, they would not take the sense of the House. Colonel Perceval.

Mr. Arthur Trevor said, he for one should certainly take the sense of the House on the occasion. It was true that he had given notice of the motion which his Honourable and Learned Friend had just mentioned, but that should not restrain him from taking any opportunity of supporting the rights of the Protestants of Ireland — rights which he thought were much neglected. Mr. Arthur Trevor.

Mr. Shaw hoped his Right Honourable Friend would not divide the House upon that grant. It was at all events, in one respect, unlike the grant proposed for national education in Ireland,—there was no disguise about it. He deprecated the Mr. Shaw.

system of Maynooth, as conferring neither benefit on the country nor credit on the Roman Catholics themselves. He thought it demanded a searching inquiry, and hoped that such an inquiry would be granted; but he owned that, considering the circumstances under which this vote was brought forward, that it had been sanctioned by various governments, and that many persons were dependent upon it for support, he did not think it reasonable to put a sudden stop to it.

Mr. Arthur Trevor.

Mr. Arthur Trevor begged his Right Honourable Friend the Member for the University of Dublin to believe that he entertained the highest respect for any recommendation coming from him; but he presumed his Right Honourable Friend knew him well enough to expect that when once he took a thing into his head he was not to be moved from his purpose.

Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. Hamilton said that an inquiry into the whole system of Maynooth College, and especially of the system of education pursued there, was, in his opinion, loudly and imperatively called for, and he regretted very much that the Honourable Baronet, who had given notice of a motion for such an inquiry, had not been able to follow it up. As an individual member of this House, he felt bound to raise his voice against a grant of public money for the advancement of a religion, and for the promulgation of doctrines, which, as a Protestant, he

conscientiously believed to be erroneous. He fully concurred in the observation which fell from the Honourable Member for Southwark, on a recent occasion, that when one set of men differed from another in essential matters of religion, and were sincere and honest in that difference, and believed that it involved principles of great importance, whatever they might profess, it was impossible but that, believing those others to be wrong, they must be anxious not only to convince them of their error, but to prevent the promulgation of that error; and they ought not, therefore, in his opinion, to be parties to its advancement or extension. It surprised him that Honourable Members on the other side of the House, and especially those of the Roman Catholic persuasion, — who were so ready to condemn the connection of Church and State — to declare that they should consider their religion contaminated by such a connection — and who were not satisfied with dealing with their own religion as they pleased, — should be so forward in endeavouring to free the religion of others from that supposed contamination, by effecting its separation from the state. He confessed he was surprised that persons holding these opinions should consent to owe the education of their clergy to a public grant from the state.

Captain Boldero said that this was the best of the whole eight and twenty grants. When Captain Boldero.

the Roman Catholics were in the habit of taking money for education, they might the more readily take stipends for their clergy, and thus there would be an end of the crafty priest and the cunning agitator.

Mr. Serjeant O'Loghlen.

Mr. Serjeant O'Loghlen begged to ask the Honourable Member, as he had placed his opposition on such grounds, whether he could consent to make a grant of money for Roman Catholic or for Protestant Dissenting places of worship?

Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. Hamilton said, if he understood the question rightly, he had no hesitation in answering it. He might vote for those Protestant Dissenters whose opinions did not appear to him wrong *in essentials;* for the others he could not, because he did think them wrong in essentials.

The committee divided:—Ayes 56, Noes 10*; Majority 41.

The Marquess of Westmeath.

THE ROMISH CLERGY. † — *The Marquess of Westmeath* said he had to present a petition from

* LIST OF THE NOES (not official).

Alsager, Captain	Perceval, Colonel
Archdall, M.	Sibthorp, Colonel
Borthwick, P.	Stormont, Lord
Gordon, Captain	
Hamilton, W.	TELLER.
Hamilton, Lord	Trevor, Hon. A.
Hodgson, J.	

† Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. xxxviii. p. 799. (May 11. 1837.) In the House of Lords.

ignitary of the Romish Church in Ireland, Marquess of Westmeath.
) wished to appeal to their Lordships against
tain severe treatment which he had expe-
ıced at the hands of his ecclesiastical supe-
s. It was the petition of Eugene Mulholland,
ative of Ireland, who had been ordained a
est of the Romish Church. In 1818, he
ıt to Rome to prosecute his studies, and re-
ved the degree of Doctor of Divinity there.
1826 he returned to Ireland, and was appointed
a parish in the county of Louth. In 1833,
: of those controversies which, unfortunately,
re too prevalent in that county, became parti-
arly conspicuous in his neighbourhood; and
was charged by another Roman Catholic
est with having connected himself with insur-
tionary proceedings. He referred the charge
the dignitaries of his own Church, and it
)eared to be their opinion that the charge
ght to be withdrawn. However, the charge
s not withdrawn. He then brought an action
ıinst the other priest, who had, as he thought,
ligned his character; and while that action
s pending, he was dismissed from his curacy
the dignitaries of his church, and was thereby
prived of the means of obtaining an honest and
nourable livelihood. They made him the sub-
t of ecclesiastical censures and privations, for
ving appealed to the law of the land in vindi-
tion of his character. The Roman Catholic
elates did not deem that appeal to be an offence

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against the ecclesiastical canons — but still they dismissed him. He then appealed to Rome; and a document called a rescript was sent out to Dr. Crotty, the Roman Catholic prefect of Ireland, requiring him to be reinstated; and ultimately he was ordered to be appointed to an office which was equal to a perpetual curacy in the English Church. Having applied to the Vicar Apostolic of London for assistance, he received an answer which was remarkable for the peculiar expressions it contained. That personage condemned the course pursued by Dr. Mulholland, in first going to law with a brother clergyman, and afterwards presenting petitions to Protestants on the subject, as a most disgraceful exhibition. Among the subsequent measures which he took for his own justification, he applied to a great champion of public liberty to take up his cause — Mr. Daniel O'Connell. That gentleman told Dr. Mulholland that it became him to express his regret for the course he had pursued, having caused great scandal to the Catholic Church, by the controversy he had created, and by endeavouring to enlist the services of men in Parliament in hostility against the dignitaries of his church. He told Dr. Mulholland, moreover, that the legislature had no control over the Roman Catholic Church, and that if he had suffered any wrong from another, the criminal law was open to him. Although it was asserted that Parliament had no right to

interfere with the Catholic clergy, he would remind their Lordships that the College of Maynooth was endowed by a parliamentary grant, and that *the discipline and mode of education there adopted ought to be inquired into*, seeing that there was every reason to believe that the institution seemed only intended to fit the students for a degree of submission and degradation that was totally incompatible with the genius of a free country. Could their Lordships doubt, then, that this was a case of oppression, and that many such cases occurred in consequence of the Roman Catholic priests refusing to lend themselves to that course of conduct which was now agitating that country? But what was the behaviour of those immaculate Right Reverends who thus endeavoured to coerce the inferior clergy to further their political views? He held in his hand a letter which had been addressed to a Noble Duke near him (the Duke of Wellington) through the public newspapers, on the subject of the resources of the established church, in which, after expatiating in a bombastic style on civil and religious freedom, and asserting that nothing could check its progress, the writer remarked, "Witness your impotent law against the Catholic bishops, who are assuming their ancient and hereditary titles. His Majesty's bishops may become possessed of all the favours that His Majesty, the fountain of wealth and honour, can give them; but they cannot make

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that happen which is not to be, nor deprive the Catholic bishops of their rights." The writer concluded by expressing his determination not to pay tithes, or any tax in support of the Church of England. So wrote John Tuam, as he signed himself. He would next direct the attention of their Lordships to the language used by some of the Roman Catholic clergy of the second order who were educated at the College of Maynooth. A priest, at an election which took place at Clonmell, thus addressed the electors respecting the candidate: — "Havn't we brought him to ye? I hope you will keep him along with ye. We have brought you a man who will give his best aid and exertions in exterminating, root and branch, that abominable and dreadful nuisance, the Church." Hear the sentiments of another person of the same class: they were part of a sermon which he delivered in a Roman Catholic chapel: — "Who are those that will be saved? Those who possess the franchise, and use it for the public good — those who vote for the liberal candidate at the expected election — those who consider the public good, and not their own private interest — those who will support the man who will oppose that church which I may call a nuisance, for it is the cause of all the murders and massacres and slaughters that disgrace the present history of our country. Wo! wo! to the man that betrays his trust!" Such were the sentiments of men who had been educated at

the public expense — such were the men whom the legislature had protected and provided for. The majority of Roman Catholic bishops were members of that association in Ireland which had been condemned both in that and in the other House of Parliament. The second order of the Roman Catholic priests were, for the most part, the nominees of those bishops, who compelled them to act with them in the political movements that they deemed advisable to promote. Unless, then, some inquiry were instituted into this state of things, how could they indulge any hope of seeing Ireland tranquillised? He did not intend to make any motion on the subject, but he hoped that an inquiry would be promoted; and if it took place first in another place, perhaps it would be better; because there were many persons in that place who were interested in the question, and who could state their views of it, and would have an opportunity of showing upon what principle the present plan of education at Maynooth should be continued. The prayer of the petition which he now presented to their Lordships was for an inquiry into the case of the petitioner, not merely with regard to his own particular statement, but with reference to the actual condition of the second order of the Roman Catholic clergy. He hoped the Noble Viscount opposite would turn his attention to the subject, and examine into the state of things at Maynooth, with a view to ascertain whether it was not necessary

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to take some steps to advance Christian piety,—but not Popery.

Petition laid on the table.

August 5. 1839.

COMMITEE OF SUPPLY — MAYNOOTH.—On the proposal to grant 8928*l.* for defraying the expenses of Maynooth, —

Colonel Perceval.

Colonel Perceval regretted that government had not given the Irish Members an opportunity of expressing an opinion on this vote, by bringing forward the estimates at an earlier period, and he believed that the delay was purposely made; but at that late period of the session it was useless to take a division against the vote, although, if his friends chose to divide, they should have his vote.

Viscount Cole.

Viscount Cole would certainly divide the House upon the question.

Mr. Redington.

Mr. Redington said that the reason why the inquiry into this grant was not brought forward at an earlier period did not rest with Honourable Members on that (the ministerial) side of the House, but in a want of determination on the part of Honourable Members opposite; one of them, the Noble Lord the Member for Durham, having had a notice on the book for a long time.

iscount Castlereagh.

Viscount Castlereagh believed that the opposition to this vote was daily increasing, and he could no longer be a silent instrument in sup-

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. xlix. p. 1270. (Aug. 5. 1839.)

porting a vote which went to oppose the established church.

Viscount Morpeth said that, as this was an annual skirmish, he would not prolong the discussion; but he must say, *that his only objection to the vote was, that it was too scanty.* He did not deny that, after they had left Maynooth, the Catholic clergy, like every other class of religious teachers, did take part in politics; but politics did not form any part of the system of instruction: on the contrary, he believed that they were carefully kept out of the system. Viscount Morpeth.

Mr. Finch would regret to see the day when the House should refuse to come to a vote for the support of the education of the Catholic clergy. As a Dissenter, he was sure he spoke the language of Dissenters, when he said that they were quite willing to accord to Catholics the right * of worshipping their Maker after their own mode, and after their own creed; and if they did this, it was but right to grant to a large majority of the Irish nation the means of educating their clergy. If the vote should come forward in another session, he trusted it would be recollected that a portion of the money of all classes, as well in England as Ireland, was appropriated to professors in the English univer- Mr. Finch.

* The position is true, the inference by no means just: toleration is one thing; *endowment*, another. It is against the *endowment*, not the *toleration*, of error that we protest. Let these distinctions be kept in mind.

Mr. Finch. sities, whilst a great part of the people of this country was shut out from those universities, by the test established by them.

The House divided: — Ayes 53, Noes 9; Majority 44.*

* List of the Ayes.

Adam, Admiral	Morpeth, Viscount
Aglionby, H. A.	Muskett, G. A.
Attwood, T.	Noreys, Sir D. J.
Baring, F. T.	O'Connell, M. J.
Barnard, E. G.	Pigot, D. R.
Barry, G. S.	Redington, T. N.
Blake, W. J.	Russell, Lord J.
Bridgman, H.	Rutherford, Rt. Hon. A.
Brotherton, J.	Scholefield, J.
Callaghan, D.	Smith, J. A.
Donkin, Sir R. S.	Smith, B.
Elliot, Hon. J. E.	Somerville, Sir W. M.
Finch, F.	Stanley, Hon. E. J.
Grattan, J.	Stanley, Hon. W. O.
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir G.	Steuart, R.
Hawes, B.	Stock, Dr.
Hector, C. J.	Surrey, Earl of
Hodges, T. L.	Troubridge, Sir E. T.
Hoskins, K.	Vigors, N. A.
Howard, P. H.	Wallace, R.
Howick, Viscount	Warburton, H.
Hume, J.	Wilde, Mr. Serjeant
Hutton, R.	Williams, J.
Labouchere, Rt. Hon. H.	Wood, C.
Lushington, C.	Wyse, T.
Lushington, Rt. Hon. S.	Yates, J. A.
Maule, Hon. F.	

Tellers { O'Ferrall, M. / Gordon, R.

The House resumed. The Chairman reported the resolutions of the House, and obtained leave to sit again.

*The Earl of Galloway** presented a petition from the Protestant Association of Edinburgh; and as it was very short, and the subject was of importance, he begged leave to read it. The Noble Earl said the petition prayed for an inquiry into the nature and tendency of the books used as class-books at Maynooth College, and set forth that, if those books were such as they were described to be, it was inconsistent with the duty of a Christian government any longer to supply funds for the support of that college. The Noble Earl proceeded to say, that in laying this petition before their Lordships, he did not pretend to be acquainted with the books in use at the College of Maynooth; but he had no hesitation in asserting, that if the books were of such a nature as was stated in this petition, it was a subject that ought at once to be dealt with

The Earl of Galloway.

List of the Noes.

Blair, J.	Hodgson, R.
Burroughes, H. N.	Lockhart, A. M.
Castlereagh, Viscount	Palmer, G.
Freshfield, J. W.	Perceval, Colonel
Grimsditch, T.	

Tellers { Cole, Viscount; Round, J.

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. lii. p. 845. (March 3. 1840.) House of Lords.

The Earl of Galloway.

by Parliament. In presenting this petition he begged it to be observed that he entertained no hostile feeling towards the Roman Catholic body. Indeed he was one of those who from the very first entertained a conscientious opinion in their favour, and in the other House he had voted in favour of what was called Catholic emancipation; and he was sorry that that measure had not produced those happy results that were anticipated from it by many Protestants who had supported it. Of this, however, he had no doubt, that a Roman Catholic college, established for purely Roman Catholic purposes, was inconsistent with the security and safety of a Protestant state. Such a college, it appeared by the petition, was now receiving aid and assistance from the country. Against the Noble Lord opposite he made no accusation on that account; but he conceived that if, after duly considering the subject, it was found that such an establishment was inconsistent with the public safety, the grant for its support ought to be rescinded. At an influential meeting, which was held some time ago, extracts from the books in use at Maynooth were read, and they were found to agree with the allegations contained in the petition. It was therefore a proper subject for serious inquiry. About a month ago, a Right Reverend Prelate * had moved, — "That an humble address be pre-

* The Bishop of Exeter.

sented to Her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to command that inquiries be made into the diffusion of blasphemous and immoral publications, and especially into the tenets of a society under the name of Socialists, which has been represented in petitions to this House to be a society the object of which is, by the dissemination of doctrines subversive of morality and religion, to destroy the existing laws and institutions of this realm." To that address her Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:— "I will give directions that inquiry be made into the important matters which form the subject of your address; and you may rely upon my determination to discourage all doctrines and practices dangerous to morality and religion." Now he founded his appeal for an inquiry in this case on the address which he had read, and the gracious answer in reply to it. He hoped that an inquiry would be instituted on this subject, in order that no further public grant should be continued for the support of this college, if, as had been described, and as he believed to be the fact, books were used in it which promulgated doctrines dangerous to morality and the welfare of society.

The Earl of Galloway.

Petition laid on the table.

June 23. 1840. Petitions presented.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.*—Petitions against any further grant to the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth presented by *Mr. Archdall* and *Mr. Plumptre*, from Trony; Drumsheeran and Innismacsaint; York; Lancaster; Southwark; members of the Protestant Association; Allcannings, and Etchelhampton; Hamsterley; Deane; Lowton; Merford; Bradford (Wilts); Quenington; West Alvington; St. Arvan's; Hameringham cum Scrafield; Asgarby; Dunkirk; Newton and Torksey; Stoke Golding; Tunstall; Ilton; Penzance; Colsterworth, &c.; Manchester and Salford; Sandford; Orcas; Chepstow; Dunford; Eusham; Framfield; and Pemberton.

The above petitions were severally ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Plumptre.

Mr. Plumptre.—Having presented many petitions of this nature, I now proceed to submit to the notice of the House the resolution of which I have given notice, "That after the grant for the current year no further payment of public money be made to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth." I need not say that, however ineffectual my opposition to the vote of money to this college may be, I have always felt justified in opposing it. I know, however, that there are several members on this side of the House who feel called upon not to resist the grant for the current year, because the money

* Mirror of Parliament, 2 S., No. xxvi. p. 3985. (June 23. 1840.) Hansard's Parl. Deb., 3 S., vol. liv. p. 1165.

has already been anticipated. It is for this reason that I propose a resolution which has an application only for the ensuing year. I would now briefly state the history of this grant. The college was established by an Act of the Irish Parliament: at first it included lay students, but that limitation soon ceased, and subsequently to the Union the college has been supported by various grants out of the public funds, varying in amount, latterly, from about 8000*l.* to 9000*l.* a year. The books used for the instruction of the students consist of certain theological volumes compiled by a continental jurist, named Van Espen, and of others compiled by a person named Dens. The original intention, in proposing this parliamentary grant, was, to give the Irish priests some motive and inducement to use their influence for the preservation of order and subordination among the people. I need scarcely say how entirely that expectation has been disappointed. I have said that I would refer to some parliamentary documents to prove the truth of what I have advanced. I will first refer to the evidence laid before the Intimidation Committee on the subject of the system of terror practised at elections, and also at the collection of tithes. I find proof given to that committee of priests having used threats and persuasions within the walls of the sanctuary, and in one case of a priest bringing to bear the terrors of

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another world in furtherance of a political object. At Cashel we find the priest refusing the rites of religion to those who supported Mr. Pennefather, and threatening to drive them off the face of the earth, and to make grass grow before their doors. In Carlow, a Mr. Maher told the people that all should vote for Wallace and Blakeny, and threatened to set a mark on whoever supported their opponents. I find a certain Mr. Kehoe calling all who refused to vote as he directed "lick spittles," and threatening to denounce them. I am well aware that there are instances of a later date which occurred at elections for poor-law guardians. They may not be considered of as high authority, as coming from Irish newspapers; but I will read them, and Honourable Members can judge for themselves. In the *Carlow Sentinel* I find a long account of an election for poor-law guardians, where the conduct of the priests was most violent; and in the *Wexford Conservative* I find an account precisely similar in every respect. As to the authenticity of those statements, gentlemen can judge for themselves. Government has received reports, and I have presented petitions, on the subject. Sir, there is another ground on which the payment of this college is objected to. There has been a list of the books used there laid before the commissioners, and I think an examination of it will supply a reason why the priests turn out such turbulent characters.

Amongst those books I find *Baylly's Moral Theology*, and on opening it I find it thus laid down (vol. ii. p. 117.): — Baylly's Moral Theology.

"It is certain that a promissory oath binds one under pain of mortal sin to do what is promised by the oath to be done, unless a legitimate cause excuse.

"There are, then, many causes which impede or destroy the obligation of an oath. The first cause is a change of matters; if the thing become impossible or unlawful, on account of the prohibition of a superior. Another cause is, making of it void by him to whom the swearer himself or the matter of the oath is subject. Thus a superior of regulars can, even without a cause, validly make void the oath of his inferiors, a father of his children, a husband those of his wife, a lord of his slave, in those things which are subject to their authority, or injure their rights. Another cause is, a dispensation or commutation granted by a superior.

"There exists in the Church an authority to dispense with vows and oaths. First proof from Scripture, Matt. xviii.: — 'Whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' When these words are general they not only signify authority to loose the chains of sinners, but likewise of vows and oaths. Second proof, from the perpetual practice of the Church, as is evident from the decretals of Gregory IX., — title, *De Voto et Voti Redemptione;* as well as from

ecclesiastical history. And besides, this authority is expedient,—nay, even necessary to the common good of the faithful. For, since what had been better or more useful for their health may become less good and less healthful, it is necessary, saith St. Thomas, that it should be determined in such a case, that a vow is not to be kept. If this be absolutely determined, it is called a dispensation; but if something else be imposed instead of what should have been kept, it is called a commutation of a vow. . . . . What are the just causes for dispensing with vows? The following are considered such:—the honour of God, the benefit of the church, the common good of the kingdom or of society."

Now, on reading such extracts from class-books, we can easily understand why breaches are made in the bonds of society. It is quite clear that, by such doctrines, a great encouragement is given to falsehood. But this is not all. I find the following in *Delahogue*, another class-book:—

Delahogue. "The church (says Delahogue, in his Tractatus de Ecclesiâ, p. 404.) retains her jurisdiction over all apostates, heretics, and schismatics, though they do not now belong to her body, as the leader of an army has a right to punish a deserter, although his name be not upon the roll."

The professor of ethics in the College of Maynooth says, "that the treatise of Thomas

Aquinas is the best system of ethics. The question is (quest. xi. art. 3.), whether heretics are to be tolerated. On this he says:—

"About heretics two things are to be considered — one thing on the part of themselves, the other on the part of the church. On the part of themselves is the sin by which they deserve, not only to be separated from the church, but even to be shut out of the world, by death; for it is much more grievous to corrupt the faith, by which the soul is to be saved, than to forge money, by which temporal life is supported. Wherefore, as the forgers of money, and other malefactors, are immediately delivered by secular princes to death, much more heretics, from the time they are convicted of their heresy, can not only be excommunicated, but justly slain. On the part of the Church, there is pity for the conversion of those that be in error, and therefore she does not immediately condemn, but after the first or second admonition; and, lastly, if the heretic be still found pertinacious, the Church, no longer hoping for his conversion, proceeds, for the safety of the others, to separate him from the Church by a sentence of excommunication, and then leaves him to the secular tribunal, to be exterminated from the world by death." Heretics.

Similar language is held by Menochius, in his "Commentary on the Scriptures," one of the class-books, and by Maldonatus, one of the Maldonatus.

standard books of the college, on the parable of the tares and the wheat, and by other standard writers also. It is only fair to infer, from these facts, that the priests at the college train up persons there to be, instead of ministers of the peace, promoters of enmity, and who, instead of allaying discord, are individuals of a different description. I believe that the number of [signatures to] petitions which have been presented on this subect is above 100,000. In fact, it is a growing feeling among Protestants in this country, that they ought not to be called to pay money to train up priests of an idolatrous religion, which in their hearts they believe to be contrary to the true religion of Christ. It is always painful for me to address the House; but on such a matter I will not shrink from the performance of my duty; yet I shall now say no more than repeat my anxious desire that — on the grounds I have mentioned, of the nature of the education, the character of the education, and the extent of the objections of the people of this country to the grant to this place of education — the House should adopt the resolution which I have proposed.

Colonel Perceval. *Colonel Perceval.* — I second the motion.

Lord Viscount Morpeth. *Lord Viscount Morpeth.* — Sir, there are two points in which the vote now complained of may be viewed. The first is, the principle of the grant itself; and the second, the mode in which this grant is administered. The Honourable Member who

has just sat down has taken both grounds of objection; he objects to the mode of instruction adopted in the college, to the books read there, and to the conduct of the clergymen who issue from its walls. This, evidently, is an objection to the mode and system in which the college is carried on: but the Honourable Member further objects to it, on the ground that no grant should be made from the public funds for the education of Roman Catholic priests, or of Roman Catholics at all. Now, there might be a general objection to the grant of public money for the instruction and the education of the Roman Catholic clergy, but, taking the propriety of such a grant as admitted, then, with respect to the system carried on in the college, and the mode in which the grant is administered, I contend that they are more the subjects for the consideration of the Roman Catholic clergy and of the Roman Catholic authorities, than of the Honourable Member for Kent. So, also, with respect to the objection which he has made to the books which are read, and the studies which are pursued there. For myself, I confess that I am not competent to enter into any argument as to the character of the books or the extent of the studies pursued there; for I have felt that into these matters it is no part of my duty to inquire. But, from what I have heard, I believe that the books which are used are the recognised books of the Catholic Church; but I believe, Lord Morpeth.

Lord Morpeth. also, that upon these points the House has no more right to inquire, than any Roman Catholic member in this House would have to come forward and object to the books which are used, or to the education that is pursued, at either of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge.* One specific objection made by Honourable Members to the books at this college was, that they enforce intolerance. I am glad to see that Honourable Members have become so sensitive to the evils of intolerance; because, after this sensitiveness, when the Honourable Member for Kent, in the presence and in the hearing of so many members of the Roman Catholic faith, brands their tenets as idolatrous and anti-social, I am sure that the Honourable Member will raise no blush in, nor cause one pang to, any of those Members. Now, with regard to the system of instruction pursued in the college. A commission was prayed by this House, and appointed by the crown, in 1827. That commission has laid upon the table a specific and minute report of every thing with regard to the

* Who would question the right of any member to do so, if it was ascertained that a course of instruction, disloyal in its tendency — subversive of sound morality and social order, was there pursued, defeating the very end and object of education, by training up a class of men to subvert the institutions of the country. But there is no analogy between the two. Maynooth is exclusive in its nature, admitting, even of Roman Catholics, those only who are intended for the priesthood. (See speech of Sir R. Peel, *post*, 406.)

college — the statutes, the constitution, the education, and the discipline. This was the statement made in the "Eighth Report of the Commissioners on the Irish Education Inquiry," in the year 1827:—"The instruction given in the divinity classes generally at Maynooth, we are assured does not differ materially from that given in the university of Paris. The discipline maintained in the college is stated to differ very little from that which is observed in other institutions for the education of the Roman Catholic clergy." Lord Morpeth.

An opinion has prevailed that the free education which the bounty of the legislature has provided at Maynooth has both induced and enabled persons of a much lower class to enter into the Roman Catholic priesthood than those who generally fill the ministerial office, and who, without such aid, could not have prepared themselves for holy orders. I collect, however, from the evidence, that this effect has not been produced, and that the care of the previous education, the expenses of admission, and the charges which still attend the course of instruction at Maynooth, accompanied by other regulations adopted by the Roman Catholic bishops, have prevented the assumed result. That report was laid on the table of the House in June, 1827; and since that period, no Parliament that has been subsequently called together, and not one administration that has since been intrusted with the government of the country, has been

Lord Morpeth.

called upon to submit to the House any motion to Parliament with respect to the College of Maynooth, or has proposed any alteration in, or sought to diminish, the annual grant. By the statutes, and an Act regulating the college, certain visitors were appointed; some were named in the Act, and others constituted by virtue of the office which they held: and I must state, that if there had been any abuse or neglect, or any departure from the understanding on which the original grant had been made, an appeal would lie to the visitors. If they had refused to give to the complaints any attention, the next most advisable course would have been to lay the matter before the government, that they might have the opportunity of impressing upon the visitors the propriety of conducting every thing connected with the college orderly and correctly, and in accordance with the intention of the grant. If all this had failed, and if the abuses had still continued, then would have been the time to make the appeal to Parliament. As it is, no complaint has been made to the government of any neglect or abuse, or departure from the original intention. The only complaint that has reached the government is of the utter inadequacy of the funds allotted to the college: and I believe that the correctness of this representation is more to be feared than those of the Honourable Member for Kent. I believe that the establishment at Maynooth, without the help of other colleges

elsewhere, is utterly incompetent to supply the demand which is made of proper parties to discharge the duties of *the parochial clergy* throughout Ireland; and I believe that great good would ensue if a larger amount of annual provision could be assigned to this college; if, for instance, the salaries of professors could be enlarged, and their position raised in the scale of society, and if something more of the humanities and refinements of learning could be mixed with the more severe studies of the college. I am sure that the worst effects would be produced, and the worst impression made upon the public mind, and that the very feelings which the Honourable Member most dreads would be fostered among the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, if the House, in a moment of haste and carelessness, should refuse to the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland any assistance from the state in aid of their education. The Honourable Member for Kent has been pleased to deal very largely in wholesale charges against the whole body of the parochial clergy in Ireland. No doubt that, in that community, as in every other large community, there will be found some bad, some ill-judging, and some turbulent men. I should like to know in what church — in what community — some such are not to be found. The Honourable Member for Kent has dwelt with just severity on those who call in the terrors of the life to come in aid of secular objects, and

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who debar from religious privileges those who will not vote for particular candidates. I am sure that no one would reprobate such conduct more than myself; but when the Honourable Member for Kent chooses to infer that this conduct is to be charged exclusively on the Roman Catholic clergy, I, although most unwilling to carry on a war of recrimination, yet must say, I think that this conduct is not confined exclusively to clergymen of that persuasion. I find that this conduct has been adopted by a clergyman of another church in Ireland, in or near Londonderry—a minister of what is certainly a church—the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.* I do not know whether Honourable Members mean in this House, as has been hinted elsewhere, to deny to the Presbyterian Church the character of a church; but these were the words of a Presbyterian clergyman addressed to those of his congregation who were about to join in the Lord's Supper:—

"I debar from this holy table (both doctrinally

* It is not to be considered what is the *casual* result of this or of that system of education, but what result it is *in its nature* calculated to produce. A loyal and liberal minded priest may proceed from Maynooth—a noisy and turbulent one from Oxford or from Cambridge; but they are the exceptions, and leave totally unmet the assertion that the system adopted at Maynooth leads, as a *natural consequence*, to those evils and to those disorders;—an accusation proved and true, and but ill met by showing there are a few solitary exceptions.

and officially) all those who, at elections, give their votes in favour of a candidate who supports an anti-christian government—a government that has ever been the patronisers of Popery and idolatry throughout the British colonies." And, as words are sometimes misunderstood, I will quote the reverend gentleman's own explanation of the words which he had used, and which left the matter very much in the same state as he found it: — "I did, therefore, debar from a seat at the table of the Lord, all voters at elections for candidates for office, under unscripturally constituted systems of civil government. And as an illustration of the anti-scriptural basis of the British constitution, I instanced the provision which, by its law enacted, was made for the maintenance and propagation of Popery in the British colonies:" clearly alluding to the present government alone. "But," continued the reverend gentleman, "this I did, Sir, without reference to personality, to the political creed of any Member of Parliament, or to any individual candidate for office under the general government, but as being applicable to all governments and to all politicians who pay no regard to the moral law as the basis of their national constitution, or to the infallible directory of God's word in the choice of their governors, or in the regulating the obedience and submission to which they are entitled from their subjects. Under the same precept of the Decalogue

Lord Morpeth.

Lord Morpeth.

I also debarred all anti-government men,—all who would not vote at elections for eligible candidates for office, under a scripturally constituted civil government." I am afraid that it will only be when the Honourable Member for Kent assumes the government, that this reverend gentleman will find cause to desist, or that his denunciation of candidates will be brought to a climax. Then the Honourable Member for Kent brought forward the cases of the contests for poor-law guardians; and, although he complains of the logic and casuistry of the doctrines at Maynooth, the Honourable Member himself exhibited rather loose logic, and some casuistry, when he referred to the proceedings at the election of poor-law guardians, to the education of Maynooth, and the writings of Thomas Aquinas. The Honourable Member, by one of his allusions, referred to a case at New Ross, where the voters were dragged from their beds to vote. I will not now go into an account of those proceedings; as they may be made, hereafter, matter for judicial inquiry. I can only say, with respect to them, that the statements which I have received are of a most conflicting nature; and whether the taking of tenants from their beds was so constraining and compulsory a proceeding as the Honourable Member for Kent's allusion represented, I cannot now say. I believe there is some reason to doubt that fact. I will only further refer to what has been the

parting remark, and the mainspring of the petitions which have been presented to the House, — the objection to any grant of public money for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and the statement that it was wrong to support a religion which the Honourable Member charitably and kindly called idolatrous * and anti-social. I

Lord Morpeth.

* These are matters of fact. To decide whether things do or do not exist, and their modes of existence, requires not *charity*, but accuracy of *observation*. Charity is not the principle upon which we are to decide whether the whole is greater than its parts, that two straight lines cannot inclose a space, or any other mathematical axiom. If it be true that two straight lines cannot inclose a space, then is there no want of charity in asserting it; but it would be a gross and manifest untruth to assert the contrary. Let any man read the writings of the Church of Rome, and see if they do not favour and enjoin idolatry, or undue reverence, in bowing down to images, and in prayers to saints. Then look at their practice in this matter, and see if that is not consistent with their principles; let them, moreover, study their canons, their divinity, their ethics; let them listen to the pastoral addresses of Mr. Conolly and Dr. M'Hale, *antè*, p. 155.; and see if the principles inculcated therein, and the instruction given thereby, are not of a most seditious, anti-social, and revolting nature: let them mark the agitation that prevails throughout Ireland — the riots, murders, plots, and assassinations, from the castle of the noble to the hovel of the unhappy peasant — the miserable system of tyranny and superstition that pervades the human mind wherever Popery has sway; let them see whether or not these principles are also carried out into practice, and ask

Lord Morpeth.

will not quarrel with the Honourable Member's conviction upon that point. I know it to be a conscientious objection on his own part, and so may it possibly be on the part of the petitioners, although they have not, perhaps, exercised their own opinions so freely as they would have done if some artful misrepresentations had not been made use of. They start, however, with the proposition, that it is wrong to support a religion of which they disapprove. That may be a very good opinion to hold; but it appears to me that any one who conscientiously holds that opinion is bound to support the voluntary system. How any one can, in common candour, say that it is wrong to support a religion which they think erroneous, and yet exact the very same support for another religion from others who equally think that erroneous; how they can allow the great majority of the people of this country to impose upon the vast majority of the people of Ireland the duty of supporting persons bound to advocate the tenets which the majority in Ireland deem wrong, I cannot conceive. It seems to me to be utterly at variance with every notion of consistency, of candour, and of common sense. In this view the laws

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themselves if there was either any breach of charity or departure from truth in the language used by the Honourable Member for Kent, when, speaking of Popery, he designated the system as *idolatrous* and *anti-social*.

which require the payment of church-rates from persons of all persuasions ought to be instantly repealed; and these rates, which in my opinion are a fair provision, if the Honourable Member's proposition were adopted, must be given up. I cannot conceive, I really cannot see, if the Honourable Member calls upon this House to support the Union — if he calls upon us to support the present tithe commutation in Ireland, which is working better than could have been or was anticipated — how, with any sense or candour, the Honourable Member can grudge the paltry grant of 8900*l.* a year, which is all that we give for religious purposes to the great majority of the people of Ireland, or to the supporters of that religion which extends its influence through every part of that country. Lord Morpeth.

The last charge brought against this offending College of Maynooth was, that a large body of the students had lately taken the temperance pledge at the hands of a Roman Catholic clergyman, Father Mathew; and in so doing, in my opinion, they were giving an excellent example to, and afforded a good omen for, the flocks about to be committed to their charge. And I think that the Honourable Member for Kent would do better by teaching his fellow religionists in England, and even some in his own neighbourhood in Kent, to imitate the example, and to lay aside the filthy habit of drunkenness, and adopt a life of sobriety, which would, perhaps, bring with it some of the

Christian virtues of charity and good-will:—I say, that the Honourable Member would thus be doing more good to that religion which he so warmly cherishes, than by calling upon Parliament to deny the grant which is now doled out to a large portion of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland.

Sir Robert Inglis.

Sir Robert Inglis.—Being one of the persons who intend to support the motion of my honourable friend, I wish shortly to state the grounds on which I have formed that determination. The Noble Lord has endeavoured in this discussion to raise questions with which, as I conceive, the government of this country has nothing to do. A government ought not to think it an open question, whether the established religion of this country should be looked upon in the same light as the faith of the Dissenters. The government is bound to support the *truth, and the truth alone.* That is a principle from which I will never flinch; and I am quite prepared to extend it to every country where the subjects of Great Britain may be placed. For myself, I never will consent to pay a sixpence for teaching as the word of God what I believe to be contrary to that word. We are living in a Christian land, and the state and the government ought to give no support to any but a Christian church founded upon truth, because if they adopted any other rule, they might give a grant to every college — to the College of

Mill Hill as well as the College of Maynooth. But the Noble Lord goes even further, and has uttered sentiments which would never have been tolerated in any member of the government forty years ago.

Several Honourable Members. — Hear, hear!

Sir Robert Inglis. — A pretty compliment was that interruption to those who on conviction granted, or against their conviction were compelled to grant, to those who now cheer, the seats which enable them to cheer! The Noble Lord has twice used the term "parochial clergy," as applied to the Roman Catholic priests, so that the present government must recognise the Roman Catholic priests as the parochial clergy of Ireland; and the Noble Lord thinks that instead of 8900*l.* we ought to add to the amount, for the purpose of adding humanities and refinements to the severer studies of the college. Be it so, if the members of the established religion — [cries of "Hear, hear!" from the ministerial benches]. But unless the Honourable Members who cheer, and among them the Honourable Member for Kerry, are prepared to vote sums for the support of the Mennonites and the Morgonites, — are prepared to propose grants to the members of every persuasion, — they cannot support the present grant. I hold that it is not right, when the great majority of the people of England recognise the Church of England as the depository of divine truth, that they should give Sir Robert Inglis.

Sir Robert Inglis.

to any other religion the countenance which this vote is likely to afford. The Noble Lord has imputed something like uncharitableness to the Honourable Member for Kent, for representing the Church of Rome by strong expressions; but I would ask the Noble Lord himself whether, at the table of this House, he has not characterised the tenets of the Church of Rome in the same terms as my honourable friend has used? I am sure that many who will follow me in this debate have sworn that the tenets of the Church of Rome are idolatrous. Therefore, the Noble Lord ought not to complain of my honourable friend for characterising that same church by the same terms which the Noble Lord himself has used. I was content in former years, and when I was a young member of this House, to vote for this grant, as a legacy from the Parliament of Ireland; but even then I felt great repugnance to the grant, and of late years have voted against it. There are something like thirty-six votes for charities, which the Irish Parliament regularly maintained. So long as those votes remained unaltered, I felt that I ought not to resist the vote for this college; I did not feel — I will not say bound, but — at liberty to inquire what particular tenets were taught, any more than I should feel myself at liberty to dispute the disposition of a legacy bequeathed through me to another individual. I only felt bound to discharge the trust committed to me,

and to pay over the money as a matter of course. But when Parliament has taken away from other institutions the money which the Irish Parliament had granted, then every case stands on its own merits; and those who rest on the claims of precedent, and of a legacy from a deceased parliament, here cease to have a firm footing. I think myself at liberty to say that I would be no party to the teaching of any such tenets. I feel that I am not bound to be a party to it, because, although it may be true that an agreement has been entered into, it has been broken in other respects; and I conceive that the nation is not bound to hold itself to any Christian obligations, except such as call for the support of its church, — that church is at variance with the College of Maynooth.

Mr. Sheil. — Salamanca would, in the Spanish Cortes, be faithfully represented by the Member whom a Protestant university delegates to this House. He is a consistent politician whose virtues are best illustrated by the Horatian metaphor, — for if any man ever was, the Honourable Baronet must be, on all hands, admitted to be *totus teres atque rotundus*. In some of his positions, however, there is a good deal of anomaly. He says that, "because the Protestant Charter Schools were deprived of the fund once annually voted to them, we ought to perpetrate what amounts to a violation of conservative principle in reference to the Catholic seminary

Mr. Sheil.

Mr. Shell. of Maynooth. The case of Maynooth rests on a clear contract entered into before the Union, and ratified by Act of Parliament.* I have been a good deal surprised that this Act has never been quoted — at least has never been relied on — as strongly as it ought to have been in this House. In 1795 the British Government felt that the foreign education of the Catholic priesthood was a very great evil. They became apprehensive that doctrines hostile to British interests might be diffused through Ireland, through the system of instruction which then prevailed. The infusion of Jacobinism into foreign seminaries was dreaded; and it was considered to be most impolitic to encourage a continental connection with Ireland, through the colleges in which the Catholic clergy had, previously to the foundation of Maynooth, been educated. It does strike me, indeed, to be most preposterous to intrust to foreigners, who may become our worst foes, the instruction of men who exercise, and ought and must continue to exercise, so vast and so legitimate an influence over the Irish people. The Catholic clergy are a most powerful corporation. The parochial minister is found in every priest, and over the whole frame of our church presides a hierarchy composed of able and enlightened men, whose talents, whose station, and whose virtues con-

* It is difficult to discover in what this much talked of contract, or its *ratification*, consists. See notes, pp. 393. and 408.

cur in giving them a great and inevitable sway. Mr. Shell.
We have in our church all the advantages resulting from a division the most minute, accompanied by a perfect centralisation. It seems obvious, then, that the members of such a body ought not to be driven from their country to seek for that instruction among your enemies or your rivals, which you are now called on to deny them.

Mr. Pitt felt that the ministers of Catholic Ireland ought not to be conductors of French principles, or instruments of French machinations; and, accordingly, the College of Maynooth was founded and endowed under the 35th of George III.* That Act recites the expediency

* It has been stated before (p. 7.) that the Act of Parliament of 1795 was passed not *nationally to endow*, but to *render lawful* the endowment by others, of *one* Roman Catholic college exclusively for the education of Roman Catholics. It is shown also by the statement of Sir A. Wellesley (*antè*, p. 166. 177.), that the memorial presented previously to the foundation of that establishment, prayed for a charter, *in order that their funds might be better secured;* and that the object in the contemplation of the Roman Catholics at that time was, to be permitted to establish the institution *with their own funds*. Whatever force or validity, therefore, may have been attached by the supporters of this grant to the assertion, that "Maynooth, before the Union, became one of the established institutions of Ireland," must lose all its weight, when it is remembered that neither the grants for Protestant purposes, nor those for mere local improvement, have been considered by any

Mr. Sheil. of endowing a Catholic seminary, and a grant of 8000*l.* (after various provisions for the establishment and regulation of Maynooth) is made by that Act of Parliament.

The college having been thus endowed, an-

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party in the state as guaranteed by the Act of Union, or by any compact, either expressed or implied. This, in common with other grants, was handed over to us in the same manner that it existed under the Irish Parliament prior to the Union. What was optional with them, was so with us; what was conditional with them, was so with us; what was absolute with them, was so with us. Can any man say that the Irish Parliament was pledged to continue their grant for ever? The memorial to government and the Act of Incorporation itself alike rebut any such supposition. But if it were not, then neither is the British Parliament.

If the grants in respect of wide streets, the Protestant Charter Schools, and the funds then voted to other societies, have been since diminished or withheld, the conclusion drawn in favour of the grant altogether fails; for the plea of *existence prior to the Union*, which in those instances was alike to have been respected and held sacred as in the present, was not for one moment thought of or regarded. It was not to be presumed, nor is it now, that a parliamentary grant made for one year is to be continued every successive year — made in one century, is to be continued through the succeeding century, and, indeed, throughout all time. With Parliament rests the power of granting the public money. It may endow — it may increase, diminish, or take away that endowment, when the purposes for which it was given are found by experience to be unattainable, or unattained. And is not this precisely the case with regard to the Maynooth College grant?

other Act was passed in 1800, confirming the former Act, and making further regulations.* Thus Maynooth before the Union became one of the national institutions of Ireland — it was in some sort incorporated with the state. The Union passed, and the grant was continued to be regularly voted by the Imperial Parliament. In 1807 the Whigs increased the grant to 12,000*l.*; but Mr. Perceval reduced it from 12,000*l.* to 8000*l.*, on the express ground that the Imperial Parliament was bound to give what the Irish Parliament had granted by a legislative donation. It is very extraordinary that the Member for Kent, who referred to what happened in 1808, did not allude to the opinions of Mr. Perceval. Mr. Perceval was a great enemy of Popery — bore to it the deepest antipathy; yet found himself bound by contract — bound by two Irish Acts of Parliament. It was not, I trust, in the spirit of "pious fraud" that the Member for Kent suppressed Mr. Perceval's opinion. For forty years the grant has been annually made. But I have more recent authority than that of Mr. Perceval. I hold in my hand Mr. Shell.

* "The support of the College of Maynooth was originally undertaken by the Protestant Parliament of Ireland, in the anticipation — which has since proved miserably fallacious — that a more loyal class of priests would be produced by a home education than by a foreign one, and that a gradual mitigation in the features of Irish Romanism would be produced, when her ministers were no

Mr. Sheil. Mr. Gladstone's book on the Church *, in which, after condemning Maynooth, he says, that if it

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longer familiarised with its condition in continental countries, where it remains the religion of the state. Instead of which, it has been found, that the facility of education at home has opened the priesthood to a lower and less cultivated class, and one more liable to the influence of secondary motives. It can hardly be denied, that this is a well-merited disappointment. If the state gives any thing of pecuniary support, it should, in consistency, give every thing. Unless it is bound in conscience to maintain the national church as God's appointed vehicle of religious truth, it should adopt, as its rule, the numbers and the needs of the several classes of religionists; and, in either aspect, the claim of the Roman Catholics is infinitely the strongest. In amount, this grant is niggardly and unworthy; in principle, it is wholly vicious; and it will be a thorn in the side of the state of these countries, so long as it is continued. When foreigners express their astonishment at finding that we support, in Ireland, the Church of a small minority, we may tell them, that we support it, on the high ground of conscientious necessity, *for its truth*: but how should we blush, at the same time, to support an institution whose avowed and legitimate purpose it is constantly to denounce that truth as falsehood. *If*, indeed, our faith be pledged to the college, by all means let us acquit ourselves of the obligation; but it is monstrous that we should be the voluntary feeders of an establishment which exhibits, at once, our jealous parsimony, our lax principles, and our erroneous calculations." In this, it will be perceived, the question as to there

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* "The State, in its Relations to the Church," by W. E. Gladstone, Esq. M.P. 8vo. edition, p. 252.

rests on the public faith, the public faith must remain inviolate. Sir, while the Member for Oxford was inveighing against the Catholic religion, having Mr. Gladstone's book in my hand, I turned to the first page of it, in which is contained a dedication to the University of Oxford, as "the tried in the vicissitudes of a thousand years." A thousand years! Did the Member for that famous university who denounces Popery hear the word a thousand years? I will not ask where was your boasted truth a thousand years ago; but I will venture to refer to the sermon of Father Prout, of Watergrass Hill: — "These words are taken from St. Paul to the Romans. Did you ever hear of his writing a letter to the Protestants?" The Member for the University of Oxford was sufficiently vehement in his denunciation of the religion once taught in the University of Oxford, and to which that magnificent assemblage of colleges owes its chief ornaments; but he abstained from the use of opprobrious expressions. The Honourable Member for Kent could not restrain himself from an indulgence in invective against the religion and the priesthood of one third of the inhabitants of these islands. I will not follow him, however, through the snares

Mr. Shell.

being a compact imposing an obligation upon the British government to continue for ever the grant to this college, so far from being settled, is not even raised. Mr. Gladstone has not gone into it.

of his theology. I leave the Member for Kent to "rush in where angels fear to tread." While he preaches, I practise the precepts of Christianity, and listen to his vituperation with the forbearance and the patience which ought to be produced by the spirit of Christian commiseration. He is accounted by his associates as sincere. I own that in listening to him I am inclined to exclaim with Bassanio —

> "Thou almost tempt'st me to forswear my faith,
> And hold opinion with Pythagoras."

The Honourable Gentleman furnishes a proof of metempsychosis, for he must have lived 200 years ago, and played a conspicuous part in that celebrated parliament of "Praise God" legislators, associated by history with the name of a religious statesman of whom such strong reminiscences are presented by the Honourable Member for Kent.

Mr. Litton. *Mr. Litton.* — My objection to the grant of public money to the College of Maynooth is founded simply upon the mode of education adopted in that seminary. If there be such a contract as that to which the Right Honourable Gentleman has alluded, it must be considered as a contract made between the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland and the people of both countries; and *a portion of that contract must have been, that doctrines useful to the morality, the religion, and the peace of Ireland should be*

taught in that college. This has not been done. Mr. Litton.
I maintain that the doctrines taught at Maynooth are deeply injurious to the welfare of the country; that they are doctrines highly intolerant towards the Protestants of Ireland; that they are doctrines of great immorality; that they inculcate allegiance to the Pope as a higher duty than allegiance to the lawful sovereign of these realms; and I am convinced that if Honourable Members will take the trouble to look into the class-books referred to by the Honourable Member for Kent, they will find that these doctrines, and worse, are taught and inculcated in this scholastic seminary. No denial has been given to the statements on this point which have been made by my honourable friend. I am a friend to a real and just system of education; but I am opposed to a system which inculcates doctrines inimical to the best interest of the nation at large. The Roman Catholic priests, who sanction the doctrines promulgated at Maynooth, are the fixed, the determined, the avowed enemies of the established church; they proclaim the doctrines of that church to be heretical; the very genius of their religion is ascendancy; and proselytism is its leading feature. Feeling that the established Protestant Church affords the only means of protecting the liberties of Ireland, and considering the attacks which have been already made upon that church, I shall give my vote in favour of the motion of my honourable friend the Member for Kent.

Mr. H. G. Ward.

Mr. H. G. Ward.—I cannot but think the argument of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman who has just sat down somewhat singular; for while he denounces the desire for ascendancy which he says pervades the Roman Catholic Church, he is about to give his vote in support of the ascendancy of another church. The Honourable Baronet the Member for the University of Oxford, in his speech to-night, has answered the arguments upon which he must found his motion on Tuesday next, on the subject of Church Extension; for the Honourable Baronet says he would not give sixpence in support of any religion which he does not believe to be true. The Honourable Baronet has therefore laid it down as a principle, that no man should contribute to a church in the doctrines of which he does not believe. How, then, can the Honourable Baronet blame others for carrying out his own principle? Why should the Dissenters support a church to which they do not belong? The argument of the Honourable Baronet goes to this extent — that every religion that is established must be true. The Honourable Member for Kent has, in the mildest manner, and apparently with the meekest spirit, laid down the most intolerant and bigoted principles that have been heard in this House within the last 300 years. He reminds me of Lord Byron's Lambro, —

> "He was the mildest mannered man
> That ever scuttled ship, or cut a throat."

Mr. H. G. Ward.

The Honourable Gentleman calls upon the House of Commons to legislate on the principles carried out by the Spanish Inquisition—to apply the secular arm to all Dissenters. He calls upon the House to rescind a grant of 8900*l.* made for the education of the priesthood of a population of 7,000,000, while in England no less a sum than 5,000,000*l.* is annually given for the support of the clergy.* The Honourable Member has quoted passages from the report of the commissioners upon the subject; but while he has brought before the House those portions only which tend to favour his own arguments, he has carefully suppressed those which have an opposite effect. The Honourable Member says, that Mr. Pitt hoped to establish a college of loyal persons, but that he failed. But I would ask the Honour-

* The grant to Maynooth is optional. The right of the Church to the enjoyment of its property is *equally* sacred with that which qualifies a Member of Parliament for his seat in the British legislature. It is evident, also, that by supposing the provision for the established church to be what it ought to be, the above assertion differs widely from the true position of the case. About half of 5,000,000*l.* will be far nearer the sum, which is, according to the best computation, about 3,490,332*l.*; giving, if equally divided among the clergy of the established church, the very ample and munificent stipend of about 300*l.* a year. At present, there are 4861 parochial benefices under 200*l.*, and 294 with incomes under 50*l.* per annum. (*Essays on the Church*, pp. 247. 266.)

Mr. H. G. Ward.

able Member if establishments of this kind have always succeeded? Have the colleges of this country rendered themselves liable to no imputation? * Can the Honourable Member for Kent and the Honourable Member for Oxford look back to certain occurrences at Canterbury with pride or satisfaction? Are they ready to countenance every word uttered by Dr. Molesworth, and others like him, who have been rewarded by the highest promotion? The Honourable Members to whom I have alluded ought to recollect that the seminaries of the establishment are not exclusively loyal. The Honourable Member for Kent has talked of a political priesthood in Ireland; but have we no political priesthood in England? On the contrary, are not the clergy the best whippers-in at every contested election? When the Honourable Member brings forward charges of a violent nature, he must expect to be met in the same way, and to hear unpleasant truths. There can be no doubt that

* It is not the casual exception, but the general result produced, from which alone any inference can be justly drawn as to the beneficial or injurious tendency of any education, or any course of policy.

The argument against Maynooth is, not that the college has produced no great, no learned, no loyal men; but that the great, the learned, the loyal, the peaceable, and well-affected, form the exception; the institution, and course of education pursued in it, being calculated to produce in its very nature the worst effects.

politics are as much mixed up with the Church of England as any church in the world. I regret this, because I think it a stain and a blot upon the Church: but to speak of the Irish clergy as the only body which exercises any political influence, is taxing our powers of belief to a very extraordinary extent. That there are faults in both establishments, no one can deny; but there is this difference between them—that whilst one is struggling for existence, the other is in the ascendant; whilst to one you grant 5,000,000*l.*, you wish to withdraw the paltry pittance of 8000*l.* from the other. The Honourable Member has spoken of the petitions which have been presented on the subject, but he must be aware that signatures can be obtained to any petitions, however absurd they may be; and I have no doubt that as many persons have called upon the House to prevent the continuance of the dog-cart nuisance, as have petitioned against the grant to the College of Maynooth. I trust the House will reject this motion by a majority sufficiently large to convince the Honourable Member of its impropriety. I rejoice that the Right Honourable Baronet the Member for Tamworth is now in his place: it is fit that he should be there, in order to rebuke the folly of some of his followers, and to redeem his party from the difficulties in which it is placed by the errors of the Honourable Members for Oxford and Kent. I have no doubt the House will hear the Right

Mr. H. G. Ward.

Honourable Baronet express his regret at the course which has been taken on the present occasion; and that he will by his vote, if not by his speech, draw a broad line of distinction between himself and his followers. Of this I am quite satisfied that my name will appear in the division list along with that of the Honourable Baronet.

Sir R. Peel. *Sir R. Peel.* — The Honourable Member is a true prophet with respect to my vote, but very much mistaken with respect to my speech. I am certainly not going to rebuke what he calls the folly of those with whom I have the honour to act, by expressing my regret at their conduct. I am bound to assert that no man who ever sat in this House was actuated by purer motives than those which have induced my honourable friend to bring forward his present motion. That is my opinion as to his motives; but at the same time I have not the slightest hesitation as to the vote I am about to give, or in avowing the grounds on which I give it. I will not give any pledge to withdraw this grant next year; because, if there is any contract or agreement, it would be equally violated by withdrawal next year as in the present. I think it would be impossible, after voting the grant for the last thirty years, and after many persons have entered the college on the faith of its continuance, to withdraw it without causing great embarrassment. But that is not the ground

on which I shall give my vote. I have been in Parliament for thirty years, and I have constantly voted for the grant, and I am prepared to continue my support, unless *very strong grounds* shall be shown for discontinuing it. I recollect the circumstances under which this vote was first given. The college was established at a time when religious animosity ran very high, when there was a much greater objection to the principle than at present; and yet a Parliament, exclusively Protestant, consented to the institution of that college at the instance of men well affected to the established church, for the express purpose of discouraging a system of education which tended to infect Roman Catholic priests with jacobinical views. This was before the Union; but the grant survived the Act of Union*, being continued by Mr. Perceval who in 1806 reduced it, but afterwards restored it to its original amount. He did this, too, at a time when religious animosities were at the highest, after the election in 1806; and I think that the continuation of it at that time was a strong proof that the minister considered the public faith involved. It continued after the removal of the Catholic disabilities, and, as I said before, I am not now prepared to give

Sir R. Peel.

* Mr. Perceval did not, it appears, diminish the grant. The administration preceding Mr. Perceval had increased it to 13,000*l.*, and on Mr. Perceval's return to office it was reduced to the original amount.

Sir R. Peel. any pledge for its removal. I cannot help thinking that the political consequences of the pledge now asked would be of a serious character. I feel that the pledge would be considered as indicating a spirit of hostility to our Catholic fellow-countrymen. But, while supporting the principle of the grant, I cannot also subscribe to a sentiment which I have heard attributed to the Noble Lord opposite. I cannot agree that, in passing the grant, a contract was ever implied to prevent the legislature from interfering, should the money be perverted to improper purposes. *I cannot agree that the system of education carried on there is a matter of indifference to the legislature. I think that the system pursued at Maynooth is a legitimate matter of consideration for Parliament, and that it would be an abandonment of duty were the House of Commons to avow a doctrine which would allow us to say to the Roman Catholic professor, "Here is the money; we are pledged to grant it; you may do with it as you please: inculcate doctrines subversive of order, and injurious to morality; but we cannot interfere."* However, I recollect that the College of Maynooth has already been the subject of minute inquiry; that the evidence taken was laid on the table; and that, notwithstanding that evidence, I considered it perfectly reconcilable with my duty to continue my support to the grant. If there be any well-founded objection

to the system of Maynooth, all I can say is, that the principals of the college would be of all others the persons most interested in repelling them, and challenging the inquiry. I would advise them to do so by all means, for the sake of conciliating their Protestant brethren. Nothing short of absolute proof of abuse will render it proper for the House to enter into a pledge as to the positive withdrawal of this grant.* But if all those complaints were removed, I should vote for the grant with much greater satisfaction than I do now, when so strong an impression prevails, that the system of education stands in need of improvement. I trust, Sir, that I have now fairly avowed my opinions in answer to the challenge of the Honourable Member, without attempting to rebuke my honourable friends, but at the same time without endeavouring to conceal the difference between us.

Lord Viscount Morpeth.

Lord Viscount Morpeth. — I wish to explain that I did not mean to say that it did not signify what course of instruction was pursued at Maynooth. I said, that I did not think myself bound to examine the contents of the books used in the

* Thus, the principle of endowing Popery would not be objected to as a system of religious error. This is *renouncing* the high Protestant ground, and compromising scriptural truth for what *seems good* for the societies of men. Had statesmen so acted in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the Spanish Armada had never sailed for the shores of Great Britain.

Catholic Church, so long as I know them to be the books sanctioned and prescribed by the Roman Catholic authorities. I distinctly said, that if any abuses existed, or any practices contrary to the intentions of the grant, the proper course would be to make a representation to the visitors, then to the government, and afterwards to Parliament, should the other two applications be unsuccessful.

Mr. Litton. *Mr. Litton.* — After the explanation of the Noble Lord, I have no doubt he did not mean to convey the impression which he has just disavowed; but I must say that his words implied it.

Sir Robert Inglis. *Sir R. Inglis.* — I also rise to explain. I did not say that whatever is established is necessarily true, but that the religion established in this country is true; and I further added, that it is the duty of all good subjects to obey the ordinances of the government under which they are placed.

Mr. Darby. *Mr. Darby.* — It appears, from what has passed during the present debate, that the College of Maynooth is endowed by Act of Parliament *;

* As to the nature and object of this Act, see *ante*, p. 7. 16. It was passed to render the endowment *lawful*. Sir A. Wellesley in the debates of 1807-8, and Mr. Perceval in the debate of 1808, alike show that the memorial of Dr. Troy contemplated nothing more; and that though the Parliament gave 8000*l.* to defray, in part, the expenses of the building, it was never intended but that the Roman

and, under these circumstances, I cannot vote for the motion of my honourable friend. If he is satisfied that the institution ought not longer to continue, the proper course would be to endeavour to repeal that Act. — [Cries of "Divide!"]

Mr. M. J. O'Connell. — I feel bound to state, that a great number of Roman Catholics are quite indifferent as to whether this grant be continued or not. If the principle laid down by the Honourable Baronet, the Member for the University of Oxford, be adopted, and if the grant be withdrawn on the ground that it is unfair to tax the inhabitants of a country for the support of a religion in which they do not conscientiously believe, I am quite sure your proceeding will meet with universal approbation in Ireland. I expected that the Honourable Member for Kent, a county which contains a metropolitan see, and which was the scene of the operations of the missionary Thom, would have gone farther, and would have contrasted the condition of the labouring population of Ireland, as to religious instruction, with that of his own constituents; and I regret that he has not done so, because I am quite satisfied that the former would not suffer by the comparison. The Honourable Member for Kent quoted some evidence given

Mr. M. J. O'Connell.

Catholics should support their own institutions; and for this purpose the Act gave "full power to the trustees to receive *subscriptions and donations, to enable them to establish and endow an academy.*" *Antè*, p. 18.

before the Intimidation Committee, relative to the conduct of one of my constituents, a most excellent clergyman, who is highly respected by every one who has the pleasure of his acquaintance. That charge rested on the most frivolous evidence, and, I have no doubt, would have been satisfactorily rebutted had the session lasted a few days longer. I remarked, in the course of this discussion, that while the Honourable Member for Kent was engaged in an attack on the Roman Catholic religion, the Scotch Members loudly cheered him; but when the Honourable Baronet, the Member for Oxford, came out with his high doctrines of the exclusive truth of the Church of England, those Members retired to the back benches. I caution those Honourable Members against supporting such a measure as this, seeing on what principle it is founded. The arm which strikes down Popery may next be levelled at them. Leaving this point for their consideration, I sit down perfectly indifferent as to the result of the division.

r. Serjeant ckson.] *Mr. Serjeant Jackson.* — If there be any contract in force, I think it will be impossible for any one to vote for the discontinuance of this grant. I do not know any thing of such contract; but the Act of 1795 recites that it is expedient to establish the College of Maynooth, and of course it must have been endowed.* would recommend my honourable friend to

* But it was not intended that it should be endowed by the nation. *Antè*, p. 408.

withdraw his motion, and, instead of proposing the discontinuance of the grant after the present year, I would advise him, on a future occasion, to propose an inquiry, with the view of ascertaining whether the charges which have been brought forward against the system of education in Maynooth, and against the system of morality inculcated there, are founded in fact or not. If such abuses exist as have been described, it is the duty of the executive to prevent future grants being made to such an institution. I trust, therefore, my honourable friend will consent to withdraw his motion. — [Cries of "No, no!" from the opposition benches.]

Mr. W. Lascelles.

Mr. W. Lascelles.—I cordially concur with the Right Honourable Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, in the opinions which he has expressed. I think there has not only been a compact and such a sanction given to it by this House as would make the discontinuance of the grant extremely inconvenient for the establishment itself; but I am disposed to go further, and would recommend its continuance upon general principles. I cannot, therefore, agree to the motion of the Honourable Member for Kent. The suggestion of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman behind me, for an inquiry into the course of instruction at Maynooth, or as to the regulations in force there, is very different from the present proposition for the discontinuance of the grant. The matter has been taken up on very

different grounds. Having been engaged, of late, in attending to matters connected with the improvement of Ireland, I feel a strong disposition to disconnect practical measures from those topics which can only cause disunion. I wish to express these feelings with reference to the subject of education generally; and I think that it should be the object of the legislature to do all that they consistently can to conciliate the feelings of the people of Ireland. If we come to vote on the subject of a grant to the College of Maynooth, I hope it will be distinctly understood that it is not on the minor point as to the regulations of that institution, but on this point, — whether a system of education should be continued there in conformity with the feelings of that country. I regret exceedingly many of the sentiments which have been uttered by Honourable Gentlemen who sit on this side of the House; and I cannot refrain from expressing my cordial concurrence in the observations of the Right Honourable Member for Tamworth.

Colonel Sibthorp.

Colonel Sibthorp. — I trust my honourable friend will consent to withdraw his present motion; and, in accordance with the suggestion which has been thrown out, bring the subject before the House in another shape. — [Cries of "Divide, divide!"]

Mr. Plumptre.

Mr. Plumptre. — Some difference of opinion seems to prevail as to the mode in which this question ought to be brought forward; and I

am quite willing to defer to the opinion of the House. If it be thought better that I should move for the repeal of the Act, or for a committee of inquiry, I am prepared to withdraw my present motion, and adopt either of those courses.—[Loud cries of "No!" and "Divide!" from the ministerial benches.] *Of this I am certain, that the question will not be allowed to rest;* and *that, sooner or later, it will be renewed, if not by me, by some other member.* At present, I have no objection to withdraw the motion, as it does not appear to meet the views of Honourable Members whose support I had looked for. —[Loud cries of "Divide, divide!"]

Mr. Hume.

Mr. Hume.—I think the Honourable Member has brought forward his motion in the proper form, if he is anxious to take the decision of the House on the subject. After the charges which have been made by the Honourable Gentleman and others who have supported the motion, it is incumbent on him to take the sense of the House on the subject.

Sir E. Knatchbull.

Sir E. Knatchbull.—I appeal to the good sense and feeling of the House whether they will not, for the sake of harmony and good-will upon this question, agree to the withdrawal of the motion?—[Cries of "No, no!"] Do Honourable Gentlemen opposite, then, wish to inculcate feelings of a different nature?—[Cries of "No, no!"] I certainly deprecate the withdrawal of the motion. But the Honourable Member for

Kent having expressed his readiness to withdraw it, I think he ought to be permitted to do so.

Mr. Barron. *Mr. Barron.* — Many Honourable Gentlemen opposite have gained their seats in this House by their violent declamation against the College of Maynooth; and their endeavour now to withdraw a motion against the grant to that college, which they themselves originated, is both cowardly and base.—[Loud cries of "Oh, oh!" "Chair!" "Order!"]

The Speaker. *The Speaker.* — The Honourable Gentleman has applied the terms "cowardly" and "base" to the actions of Honourable Members on the other side of the House; in doing so, he has shown great disrespect for the House. I therefore call upon him to withdraw the expression.

Mr. Barron. *Mr. Barron.* — Sir, as you declare that to be unparliamentary language, I am of course bound to withdraw it, and bow to your decision. But I cannot conceive any thing more base, than for a body of men — [cries of "Order!"] — I am now only supposing a case — to come forward upon the hustings in Cambridge, Kent, and other places, and give utterance to every species of base calumny — to falsehood the most unfounded, and invective the most detestable and uncharitable against a class of their fellow Christians, denouncing Maynooth College as worse than a den of thieves, and as the very acme of infamy, and every thing that is disgraceful to the constitution of these countries. I can conceive nothing more base than

for that same body of men to bring forward a motion in this House, and then shrink from a division upon it.—[Cries of "Order!"]

Mr. Christopher.—I rise to order. I submit whether the "supposed case," as the Honourable Member affects to call it, does not distinctly apply to Honourable Members on this side of the House?—[Cries of "Oh, oh!" from the ministerial benches.] The Honourable Member spoke of certain persons on the hustings attributing to them language which I am sure no gentleman would use; and he then alluded to certain Members of this House as shrinking from the performance of their duty, evidently coupling them with those to whom he had previously referred. Such language I consider to be highly improper.—[Cries of "Hear, hear!"] Mr. Christopher.

Mr. Barron.—I am exceedingly sorry to find that the Honourable Gentleman applies to his friends around him the case which I was attempting to put to the House. If he thinks it applicable, I need say no more on the subject. I think it would be more prudent for Honourable Gentlemen opposite to follow the advice of the Right Honourable Gentleman the Member for Tamworth, who has done himself so much honour by the course which he has dared to take upon this question, and for which he will doubtless gain credit out of doors. I hope the House will divide upon the motion, in order to show to the country those who have kept, and Mr. Barron.

those who have violated, their pledge on the hustings.

Sir G. Smyth. *Sir G. Smyth.*—I cannot consent to be a party to the withdrawal of the motion; and if I stand alone, I will divide the House upon it. —[Loud cries of "Divide, divide!"]

Colonel Perceval. *Colonel Perceval.* I hope the Honourable Member for Kent will be allowed to withdraw the motion; and for this reason, that I believe my honourable friend was not aware, when he brought it forward, of the existence of the Act of Parliament which sanctions the grant. I, for one, do not wish to set aside* an Act of Parliament in this manner, and shall therefore feel compelled to vote against the motion, although I am opposed to the grant.—[Renewed cries of "Divide!"]

The House divided:—Noes 121, Ayes 42, Majority 79.†

* It will be seen, from a foregoing part of this work, that to withhold this grant would neither be setting aside an Act of Parliament, nor acting contrary to its letter or spirit. It will but be leaving the College to be supported by the funds of those by whom it was originally intended that it should be supported.

† Ayes.

Archdall, M.	Chute, W. L. W.
Bateson, Sir R.	Cole, Hon. A. H.
Bell, M.	Conolly, E.
Bruce, C. L. C.	Dalrymple, Sir A.
Buck, L. W.	Duffield, T.
Buller, Sir J. Y.	Dugdale, W. S.
Burroughes, H. N.	Du Pre, G.
Christopher, R. A.	Egerton, Sir P.

Such was the result of the debates upon this question. The objections therein raised as to the existence of a compact — the grant being

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Farnham, E. B.	Mackenzie, T.
Fielden, W.	Maclean, D.
Filmer, Sir E.	Maunsell, T. P.
Glynne, Sir S. R.	O'Neill, Hon. J. B. R.
Hale, R. B.	Pakington, J. S.
Halford, H.	Pringle, A.
Hawkes, T.	Rushbrooke, Colonel
Hepburn, Sir T. B.	Rushout, G.
Hodgson, R.	Shirley, E. J.
Houstoun, G.	Sibthorp, Colonel
Kelly, F.	Smyth, Sir G. H.
Kemble, H.	Vere, Sir C. B.
Litton, E.	Waddington, H. H.

Tellers { Inglis, Sir R. H. / Plumptre, J. P.

Noes.

Acland, Sir T. D.	Brotherton, J.
Adam, Admiral	Busfield, W.
Aglionby, H. A.	Campbell, Sir J.
Ainsworth, P.	Chalmers, P.
Alston, R.	Chetwynd, Major
Archbold, R.	Childers, J. W.
Baring, Rt. Hon. F. T.	Clay, W.
Barnard, E. G.	Collier, J.
Barron, H. W.	Collins, W.
Beamish, F. B.	Craig, W. G.
Berkeley, Hon. H.	D'Eyncourt, Rt. Hn. C. T.
Berkeley, Hon. C.	Douglas, Sir C. E.
Bewes, T.	Dundas, C. W. D.
Blake, M. J.	Dundas, Sir R
Blake, W. J.	Elliot, Hon. J. E.
Borves, J.	Euston, Earl of
Bridgeman, H.	Evans, G.
Brodie, W. B.	Evans, W.

implicitly guaranteed by the Union — or by Act of Parliament, — have, it is submitted, been met by various notes and observations throughout the work, as occasion seemed to require.

Ewart, W.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Finch, F.
Fitzroy, Lord C.
Gordon, R.
Greenaway, C.
Greg, R. H.
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir C.
Hall, Sir B.
Hawes, B.
Hawkins, J. H.
Heathcoat, J.
Hector, C. J.
Hobhouse, T. B.
Hodges, T. L.
Hoskins, R.
Howard, Hon. E. G. G.
Howard, F. J.
Hume, J.
Humphrey, J.
Ingham, R.
Langdale, Hon. C.
Lascelles, Hon. W. S.
Loch, J.
Lushington, Rt. Hon. S.
Macaulay, Rt. Hon. T. B.
Macnamara, Major
Martin, J. B.
Maule, Hon. Fox
Mildmay, P. St. John
Morpeth, Lord Viscount
Muskett, G. A.
Nicholl, J.
Norreys, Sir D. J.
O'Brien, C.
O'Brien, W. S.
O'Connor Don
Ord, W.
Parke, J. (Sheff.)
Pechell, Captain
Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir R.
Pendarves, E. W. W.
Pigot, D. R.
Power, James
Power, John
Price, Sir R.
Pryme, G.
Rawdon, Colonel J. D.
Redington, T. N.
Roche, E. B.
Rundle, J.
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, Lord C.
Salwey, Colonel
Scholefield, J.
Sheil, Rt. Hon. R. L.
Slaney, R. A.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, B.
Smith, R. V.
Somers, J. P.
Stanley, Hon. E. J.
Stewart, R.
Stuart, W. V.
Stock, Dr.
Strickland, Sir G.

On taking a review of these debates, there are but few minds that will not be filled with sentiments of dissatisfaction. Some, at the ascription to *one* religion alone, of the attribute of *truth*, and *conformity to the word of God*, — others to behold a manly testimony on behalf of truth stigmatised as bigotry and intolerance — a steadfastness to principle ridiculed as the offspring of narrow-mindedness — and a high tone of moral and Christian feeling, mingled with that real charity which "rejoiceth in the truth," denounced as the language of cant, hypocrisy, and deceit.

The Protestant — who would preserve that Christianity — which, first planted in these lands in the purest ages of the Church, threw off at the Reformation those dark errors and superstitions with which Popery had overshadowed and obscured it — whose religion is still that which

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Strutt, E.
Style, Sir C.
Tancred, H. W.
Thornely, T.
Townley, R. G.
Vigors, N. A.
Wallace, R.
Warburton, H.
White, A.
White, H.
Williams, W.
Williams, W. A.
Wilshere, W.
Woodhouse, E.
Wood, G. W.
Wood, B.
Worsley, Lord
Wyse, T.
Yates, J. A.

Tellers { O'Connell, M. J.
Ward, H. G.

primitive Christianity was — will behold with heartfelt sorrow every departure from that sound policy — those wise and Christian principles, under whose ennobling and auspicious influence England has grown truly great, — for the maintenance and supremacy of which his martyred forefathers struggled, and sacrificed every worldly consideration. Knowing the fate of all empires and of all men to be weighed in the balance of the sanctuary — that if found wanting there, the glory with which they may have been adorned is speedily departing — he will consider that the reverse of those principles which made England glorious must lead to ruin; that forgetfulness and renunciation *of* God will lead to forgetfulness and renunciation *by* Him; that the attempt to cast off allegiance to the Supreme Governor of the universe — to administer affairs without reference to Him "by whom kings reign and princes decree justice" — will lead to His casting off those who would act with such audacity, such reckless, such bold, such arrogant impiety, and to a bestowal upon others more worthy those rich blessings which had been so profusely lavished upon them. Conscious that empire is held by a very frail tenure, that its *responsibilities* ought to be more regarded than its external splendour: — title and distinction will not, with all their *grandeur* and attractions, allure from the path of true glory. Sincere in his religion, and an ardent lover of his country,

he will hold the interest of each paramount to any personal considerations. Not seeking power for self-aggrandisement, nor rejecting it when called by Providence to assume it for the benefit of others, he will bear in mind that if, to retain authority, the empire of truth is to be invaded and overthrown, nothing short of the most signal failure can attend, — till power becomes weakness; wealth, poverty; abundance, scarcity; and glory, shame! Filled with love to his divine Redeemer, — holding fast, himself, "the form of sound words," and "earnestly contending for the faith which was once delivered to the saints," he will endeavour not only that it may be preserved at home in full purity and perfection, and be handed down unimpaired to the latest of his posterity, but that it may be promulgated far and wide, till the mighty extent of empire brought beneath our sway shall hear the same blessed tidings of salvation.

Not less anxious will be the Roman Catholic to see his form of faith triumphant. To the truly pious and devoted this is the predominant feeling, or rather passion, of their souls. Regarding Protestants as in a state of awful heresy, there are no exertions, no sacrifices (of their own) that they ought not to make, in order to reduce them to that church out of whose pale they believe there is no salvation. The evil from which they would rescue is an eternal one: to accomplish that, they would overlook the

temporal miseries that must be endured, and — as the pages of history inform us — have but too often had recourse to means the most nefarious, cruel, and unjust.* When minds are wrought up to a high degree of religious fervour and excitement — whether from early education, long continued habit, prejudice, with sometimes an intermixture of worldly motives — they are too apt to forget the vileness of the means in the apparent sanctity of the end, and to "do evil that good may come." It were better, in the eye of some, to be under the sway of the Romish Church, though the tyranny of Spain, the superstitions of Italy, the slavery and wretchedness of the lower orders in Ireland, should take place to-morrow in England, than that she should remain great and glorious, rejoicing in those liberties which we have derived from our noble constitution, under the auspices of a pure and scriptural Christianity, free alike from *civil servitude* and the spiritual thraldom of the Pope. He (the Pope) cares for little, so that we might again become his vassals; temporal

* I must here again exonerate myself from any imputation of endeavouring to cast upon every member of the Church of Rome those reflections which have been, and still are, justly called for by the principles of that church, as exemplified in the conduct of many. Of the system, I cannot speak in milder or softer terms; making allowance, however, for those upright and high-minded men, who still lend to it their countenance and support.

power he can disregard, while seeking for spiritual power. Direct temporal power though he hath not, a spiritual power he hath, equal to all such emergencies. "As far as relates to their persons, the Pope cannot ordinarily depose temporal princes, even for just cause, as he can bishops, that is, as an ordinary judge; but he can change kingdoms, and take them away from one and give them to another, as the highest *spiritual* prince, if that be necessary for the salvation of souls!"* And while many of his faithful subjects in England are clamouring loudly for that freedom and liberty of conscience and of act, which they themselves allow to none where force and decency do not compel it, he would throw over us again those spiritual fetters — invisible, but not less binding — that bound our forefathers, and exercising his power, with a spiritual aspect, assume thereby the right of interfering in our foreign or domestic policy, and exert an influence not less deleterious than if possessed of supreme temporal authority.†

* *Antè*, p. 126.

† Into the nature of the confessional it was not my object and intention to enter in detail. It is, however, a most important point to be attended to. It may be said that this is going too minutely into the theological practice and discipline of the Church of Rome; and that, as affecting morality and religion, it is more a matter for those set apart for the spiritual office to inquire. Be it so. It may still be permitted me to set before my fellow-countrymen, a few of the indecent interrogatories to which The confessional.

The confessional is the key by which the priesthood may unlock the secrets of every

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their wives, their daughters, and their sisters are exposed from the nature of the confessional; leaving it for them, as men, as fathers, as husbands, as brothers, and as Christians, to judge and to act for themselves respecting it. Taught from their earliest infancy to regard the priest in the confessional as in the place of God, and that the concealment of any thing there which ought to be disclosed is a mortal sin, it is no wonder that Roman Catholics retain through life a deep sense of the sacredness and importance of this unscriptural institution, which intermeddles alike in the minutest affairs of domestic economy, and the most important affairs of state. Let a few instances, however, speak for themselves: —

"Whether *wives* commit a mortal sin of theft, if, contrary to the *reasonable* wishes of their husbands, they secretly take any thing *considerable* from the property which is *under the power of their husbands?* — They commit a mortal sin of theft, because they greatly injure the just rights of the husband.* But what quantity ought to be accounted *considerable* in these thefts cannot easily be determined. This one thing is certain, that a *greater quantity* is required in thefts committed by a *wife* or a son, than in thefts committed by strangers, because a husband, or the father of a family, is more unwilling that money should be taken by a stranger than by a wife or son. It is not a *theft* if a wife secretly abstracts from their common property as much as is necessary to support an indigent father or mother, or children by a former marriage, &c. Nevertheless, whatever the wife has given away to them, she is

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* Bailly, De Præceptis Decalogi, vol. vii. 462. 6th edit.

bosom. There they gain their information; there they find the δος που στω of Aristotle—the fulcrum

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bound to account for, and reckon as part of her dowry when she comes to a division of the property with the heirs."

Again:—"What is to be thought of servants who pilfer any thing from their masters?—That they sin mortally if they pilfer a *considerable* quantity, venially if a small quantity. But if they steal money, furniture, or such things, the same quantity is required to constitute a mortal sin as if they were strangers; nay, rather, their crime is more detestable, as well because they violate the trust reposed in them by their masters, as because their masters are often more displeased than if a stranger stole from them. Servants, pilfering by.

"But if a servant should plunder any thing to eat, they do not always sin; that is to say, if it be some food which their masters would readily permit them to use, if leave were asked from them; or at least they sin more venially, and a greater quantity is required to make a mortal sin, than with respect to strangers, because it would be generally less contrary to the wishes of a master. They sin mortally, however, if they plunder *for the purposes of carousing, or in order to sell or give away to others*, or if they should make use of dainties and *choice wines*, which the master wishes to reserve for himself, and which are not usually allowed to servants."

Who can approve of such subdivision of crime—such mincing of what is wrong—such nice and minute distinctions between the quality and the quantity, and the wealth and the motives, and the purpose, and the relative position of parties, &c. &c.? yet upon such and other nice distinctions it is the part of the confessor to decide, and to

of their power—the lever with which to move and to direct the operations of families, and states, and empires.

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direct the conscience of his penitent,—how often misdirected, alas! is too well known. His office supposes him acquainted with all the evils of human nature.

Confessor's duty.

"Since the confessor acts the part both of a judge and a physician, he ought to become acquainted with the diseases and the offences of the penitent, in order that he may be able to apply suitable remedies, and impose due penance; and lest a *sin that is mortal* should be accounted *venial*, or the foul viper lurking in the deep recesses of the heart should not venture to put itself forth to view. He ought therefore sometimes to *question* the penitents on the subject of the sixth commandment*, where he expects that they are not altogether pure, especially if they be ignorant, rude, bashful, agitated.

"A prudent confessor will, as far as in his power, by kindness of language, increase the confidence of his penitents; will advance from more general statements to more particular, from the *less shameful* to those which are more so: nor will he take his commencement from the external acts, but from the *thoughts*. Has not the penitent revolved some improper ones in his or her mind? Was this done advertently? What kind of desire was it? Has he or she felt unlawful passions? But if the penitent shall declare that he or she hath not felt them, the confessor ought usually to stop there, unless the penitent be very ignorant and dull. But if the penitent shall answer that he or she has had improper thoughts, or irregular desires, the confessor shall ask whether any improper actions followed. But if the penitent shall confess this, the confessor shall ask again what were those actions.

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* The *seventh* in the Protestant Catechisms.

The necessity of attending at confession is early instilled into the infant mind, and, where

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" If the penitent be a girl, she should be asked whether she has adorned herself in order to please the men? whether for this purpose she has used paint, or stripped her arms, shoulders, or neck? whether she has frequented churches in order that she might show herself in the vestibule or window, so as to attract observation? whether she has spoken, or read, or sung any thing immodest? whether she is not attached to somebody with a more peculiar affection? whether she has not permitted him to take some liberty with her? whether she has not allowed herself to be kissed? But if occasion should be given for *ulterior* inquiries, the confessor will fulfil his duty, but very prudently and circumspectly.* Questions to be asked.

" The parish priest †, either himself, in the tribunal of penance, or at least by means of some pious matron (and this will oftentimes be a more prudent plan), ought to instruct married persons, and especially *married women*, what they are to observe in this respect. And since women not unfrequently conceal offences with reference to this in the sacrament of confession through modesty or ignorance, it is expedient sometimes to *interrogate them on the subject*, but cautiously and prudently, not abruptly: for example — it may be asked whether there have been any disagreements between her and her husband? what were the causes of them? what were the effects of them? * * * * * * * *e. g.* inquiri potest, an dissidia, fuerint inter eam et conjugem, quæ eorum causæ, qui effectus, an propterea marito denegaverit quod ex conjugii legibus ei debetur?" Of married persons.

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* Tractatus de Præceptis Decalogi.

† Tractatus de Matrimonio, 265. 6th edit.

the system is fully in force, is followed by that blind veneration which superstition engenders where she has gained a strong hold upon her victims. Here the power of the priest is absolute, the obedience of the penitent unlimited. The priest presides *in the place of the Deity.** His victim kneels before him in the most abject servility. This is one chief strong hold of the Romish priesthood over their flocks.

More minutely into the truly disgusting, demoralising, and debasing system, can it be required for me to enter? Why should it be necessary, after what has been already stated, more fully to throw off the veil? Why should we enter into those questions arising under various sections, whose very name and title is sufficiently revolting to repel inquiry—"De Peccatis Luxuriæ consummatæ naturalis," "De Fornicatione," "De Stupro," "De Raptu." "De Adulterio," "De Incestu," "De Sacrilegio," "De Peccatis Luxuriæ consummatæ contra Naturam," "De Peccatis Luxuriæ non consummatæ," "De Matrimonii Fine," "Obligatio servandæ Fidei conjugalis," &c. &c.

Who does not at once perceive that the very fact of making vices such as these the matter of investigation—the subject of close and intimate conversation—must have an effect the most prejudicial upon the morals of society? Into how many a mind has the first idea of some dreadful evil been suggested at the confessional! In how many instances must this have the effect of contaminating minds that till then were pure, and of leading on to yet greater profligacy those whose vicious propensities were but partially developed!

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* See Dens's Theology, and others.

But to return to a consideration of the question as it now stands, we find that a grant, not designed to be perpetual, has been continued by the liberality of the British Parliament for nearly fifty years (p. 239.). A college intended to be supported by the funds of the Roman Catholics has been chiefly supported by parliamentary grants (pp. 18. 166.). Protestants, whose policy and religion differ essentially from that of Popery, have by an ill-timed liberality and a supine indifference permitted this grant to continue, till now, from its long duration, its advocates would almost claim for it a title by prescription; and when awakening to a sense of the inconsistency —to use the mildest term—of their past conduct, and justly valuing their own pure blood-bought liberties and religion, Protestants object any longer to support an institution for training up skilful pioneers to subvert, overturn, and destroy both the one and the other, its existence prior to the Union is spoken of as necessarily implying also its existence after the Union, and forming a part of it, though other grants of the Irish Parliament equally with this hallowed — if time could hallow what is wrong — by long continuance —equally with this existing before the Union— have been discontinued, wheresoever change of circumstances, matter of convenience, or public utility may have seemed to require (p. 394.). Vainly then, is any title to the grant rested upon such foundations; for if *reductions* in

respect of wide streets, and a variety of other items have since been made, or the grants altogether withdrawn, it is hard to conceive that a plea — which, valid in one instance, would be equally valid in all, — should be available in reference to this institution when it has been unattended to with regard to others (p. 390.). The Act of Parliament is referred to : so far from being specific, it is silent on the subject: making it lawful for Roman Catholics to have *one* such place for education, it authorises them to collect funds for that purpose, to receive subscriptions and donations, to *enable them* to establish and endow it; and grants 8000*l.* towards *establishing* the said academy (*antè*, p. 22.). If the evils of that system can neither be prevented or diminished, at least let Protestants be exonerated from the necessity of supporting that against which they protest, and which turns its every effort to the destruction of their religion — a grant for the support of which the Roman Catholics have not now even the plea of poverty to put in, as their prodigious exertions, magnificent establishments, and their showy processions — in open violation of the law — sufficiently testify.

But if there should be any who would not object to the endowment of Popery merely as a system of theological error — who may think that on other grounds no sufficient cause has been shown why the grant should be discontinued,

and, mistrusting the returns already made to the House of Commons by the Roman Catholics themselves, may be desirous that the subject should yet undergo a more complete investigation, and deem it the more wise, satisfactory, and expedient course, that a committee of inquiry should first be issued, let their efforts be directed to that end. Let it be shown what are the class-books, the standards, and other books used at Maynooth. Let it be shown, also, what are the dangerous principles they contain, whether politically, morally, or religiously considered; and let the British public be satisfied by what *canons, councils, decrees, or works of equal authority*, those principles and dogmas have ever been repudiated, contradicted, or revoked.

APPENDIX.

POPE'S BULL, RE-ESTABLISHING THE JESUITS.*

PIUS, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

THE care of all the churches confided to our humility by the Divine will, notwithstanding the lowness of our deserts and abilities, makes it our duty to employ all the aids in our power, and which are furnished to us by the mercy of Divine Providence, in order that we may be able, as far as the changes of times and places will allow, to relieve the spiritual wants and necessities of the Catholic world, without any distinction of people and nations.

Wishing to fulfil the duties of our apostolic ministry, as soon as Francis Karen (then living) and other secular priests resident for many years in the vast empire of Russia, and who had been members of the Company of Jesus, suppressed by Clement XIV. of happy memory, had supplicated our permission to unite in a body for the purpose of being able to apply themselves more

* 1773. The order of Jesuits suppressed by Clement XIV. (by a bull, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*), having become obnoxious at Rome, by attempts to erect a politico-hierarchical system *independent of the papacy*. At the time of its suppression, this order possessed, in 39 provinces, 24 professed houses, 669 colleges, 61 noviciate houses, 176 seminaries, 335 residences, 273 missions, 22,589 members. After this, the order continued to exist, especially under the auspices of Russia and Prussia, with hopes of a formal restoration. *

* *Ecclesiastical Chronology*, by the Rev. J. E. Riddle, p. 448.

easily, in conformity with their institution, to the instruction of youth in religion and good morals, to devote themselves to preaching, to *confession*, and the administration of the other sacraments, we felt it our duty more willingly to comply with their prayer, inasmuch as the then reigning emperor, Paul I., had recommended the said priests in his gracious despatch, dated 11th August, 1800, in which, after setting forth his special regard for them, he declared to us that it would be agreeable to him to see the Company of Jesus established in his empire under our authority; and we, on our side, considering attentively the great advantages which these vast regions might thence derive, — considering how useful these ecclesiastics, whose morals and doctrines were equally tried, would be to the Catholic religion, — thought fit to second the wish of so great and beneficent a prince.

In consequence, by our brief, dated the 7th of March, 1804, we granted to the said Francis Karen and his colleagues residing in Russia, or who should repair thither from other countries, power to form themselves into a body or congregation of the Company of Jesus: they are at liberty to unite in one or more houses, to be pointed out by their superior, provided those houses are situated within the Russian empire. We named the said Francis Karen general of the said congregation; we authorised them to resume and follow the rule of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, approved and confirmed by the constitutions of Paul III., our predecessor of happy memory, in order that the companions in a religious union might freely engage in the instruction of youth in religion and good letters, direct seminaries and colleges, and, with the consent of the ordinary, confess, preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments. By the same brief we received the congregation of the Company of Jesus under our immediate protection and dependence, reserving to ourselves and our successors the prescription of every thing that might appear proper to consolidate, to defend it, and to purge it from the abuses and corruptions that might be therein introduced; and for this purpose we expressly abrogated such apostolical constitutions, statutes, privileges, and indulgences, granted in contradiction to those concessions, especially the apostolic letters of Clement XIV., our predecessor, which begin with the words *Dominus ac Redemptor*

noster, only in so far as they are contrary to our brief, beginning *Catholicæ*, and which was given only for the Russian empire.

A short time after we had ordained the restoration of the order of Jesuits in Russia, we thought it our duty to grant the same favour to our kingdom of Sicily, on the warm request of our dear son in Jesus Christ, King Ferdinand, who begged that the Company of Jesus might be re-established in his dominions and states as it was in Russia, from a conviction that in these deplorable times the Jesuits were instructors most capable of forming youth to Christian piety and the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom, and to instruct them in science and letters. The duty of our pastoral charge leading us to second the pious wishes of these illustrious monarchs, and having only in view the glory of God and the salvation of souls, we, by our brief, beginning *Per alias*, and dated the 30th July, 1804, extended to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies the same concessions which we had made for the Russian empire.

The Catholic world demands with unanimous voice the restoration of the Company of Jesus. We daily receive to this effect the most pressing petitions from our venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and the most distinguished persons, especially since the abundant fruits which this company has produced in the above countries have been generally known. The dispersion even of the stones of the sanctuary in those recent calamities (which it is better now to deplore than to repeat), the annihilation of the discipline of the regular * orders (the glory

* An edict for the re-establishment of the monastic orders was issued by the Pope in the same year. Whether they are rightly termed by his holiness "the glory and support of religion and the [Roman] Catholic church," the British Parliament has for centuries found them injurious both to the state and religion; and, in the act 10 Geo. 4. c. 7., provided against the erection in England of those institutions, which might otherwise serve as papal watch-towers, by the following enactments:—

"XXVIII. And whereas Jesuits, and members of other religious orders, communities, or societies of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, are resident within the United Kingdom; and it is expedient to make provision for the gradual suppression and *final prohibition* of the same therein." Be it therefore enacted, that every Jesuit, and every member of any other religious order, community, or society of the church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, who, at the time of the commencement of this act, shall be within the United Kingdom, shall, within six calendar months after the commencement of this act, deliver to the clerk of the peace of the county

and support of religion and the *Catholic church, to the restoration of which all our thoughts* and cares are at present directed,) require that we should accede to a wish so just and general.

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or place where such person shall reside, or to his deputy, a notice or statement, in the form and containing the particulars required to be set forth in the schedule * to this act annexed; which notice or statement such clerk of the peace, or his deputy, shall preserve and register amongst the records of such county or place, without any fee, and shall forthwith transmit a copy of such notice or statement to the chief secretary of the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, if such person shall reside in Ireland, or, if in Great Britain, to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state; and in case any person shall offend in the premises, he shall forfeit and pay to his majesty, for every calendar month during which he shall remain in the United Kingdom, without having delivered such notice or statement as is hereinbefore required, the sum of fifty pounds.

XXIX. And be it further enacted, that if any Jesuit, or member of any such religious order, community, or society as aforesaid, shall, after the commencement of this act, come into this realm, he shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of a misdemeanour; and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life.

XXX. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that in case any natural born subject of this realm, being at the time of the commencement of this act a Jesuit, or other member of any such religious order, community, or society as aforesaid, shall, at the time of the commencement of this act, be out of the realm, it shall be lawful for such person to return or to come into this realm; and upon such his return or coming into the realm, he is hereby required, within the space of six calender months after his first returning or coming into the United Kingdom, to deliver such notice or statement to the clerk of the peace of the county or place where he shall reside, or his deputy, for the purpose of being so registered and transmitted, as hereinbefore directed; and in case any such person shall neglect or refuse so to do, he shall, for such offence, forfeit and pay to his majesty, for every calendar month during which he shall remain in the United Kingdom, without having delivered such notice or statement, the sum of fifty pounds.

XXXI. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That notwithstanding any thing hereinbefore contained, it shall be lawful for any one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, being a protestant, by a licence in writing, signed by him, to grant permission to any Jesuit, or member of any such religious order, community, or society as aforesaid, to come into the United Kingdom, and to remain therein for such period as the said secretary of state shall think proper, not exceeding in any case the space of six calendar months; and it shall also be lawful for any of his majesty's principal secretaries of state to revoke any licence so granted before the expiration of the time mentioned therein, if he shall so think fit; and if any such person to whom such licence shall have been granted shall not depart

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* For this, see end of Appendix.

We should deem ourselves guilty of a great crime towards God, if, amidst these dangers of the Christian republic, we neg-

from the United Kingdom within twenty days after the expiration of the time mentioned in such licence, or if such licence shall have been revoked, then, within twenty days after notice of such revocation shall have been given to him, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life.

XXXII. And be it further enacted, that there shall annually be laid before both Houses of Parliament an account of all such licences as shall have been granted for the purpose hereinbefore mentioned within the twelve months then next preceding.

XXXIII.* And be it further enacted, that in case any Jesuit, or member of any such religious order, community, or society as aforesaid, shall, after the commencement of this act, within any part of the United Kingdom, admit any person to become a regular ecclesiastic, or brother or member of any such religious order, community, or society, or be aiding or consenting thereto, or shall administer or cause to be administered, or be aiding or assisting in the administering or taking, any oath, vow, or engagement, purporting or intended to bind the person taking the same to the rules, ordinances, or ceremonies of such religious order, community, or society, every person offending in the premises, in England or Ireland, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and in Scotland shall be punished by fine and imprisonment.

XXXIV. And be it further enacted, that in case any person shall, after the commencement of this act, within any part of this United Kingdom, be admitted* or become a Jesuit, or brother, or member of any other such religious order, community, or society as aforesaid, such person shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of a misdemeanour, and, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life.

XXXV. And be it further enacted, that in case any person sentenced and ordered to be banished, under the provisions of this act, shall not depart from the United Kingdom within thirty days after the pronouncing of such sentence and order, it shall be lawful for his majesty to cause such person to be conveyed to such place out of the United Kingdom, as his majesty, by the advice of his privy council, shall direct.

* On these sections we should like to know what may have taken place? What answer would the home office give to the inquiry? How many Jesuits have returned to England since the enactment in question? To how many has the secretary of state for the home department granted a licence to come into and remain in England? How many have availed themselves, by violating the law, of that which was designed as a privilege to those only who observed and conformed to the law? In a Roman Catholic periodical of late date is the following:—

"The Rev. Mr. ———. We understand that this respected and zealous pastor has left the mission at ——— to commence his noviciate in the Society of Jesus at Stonyhurst."

lected the aids which the special providence of God has put at our disposal; and if — placed in the bark of Peter, tossed and assailed by continual storms — we refused to employ the vigorous and experienced powers who volunteer their services, in order to break the waves of a sea which threatens every moment shipwreck and death. Decided by motives so numerous and powerful, we have resolved to do now what we could have wished to have done at the commencement of our pontificate. After having by fervent prayers implored the divine assistance, and having taken the advice and counsel of a great number of our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the holy Roman church, we have decreed with full knowledge, in virtue of the plenitude of apostolic power, and with perpetual validity, that all the concessions and powers granted by us solely to the Russian empire, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies, shall henceforth extend to all our ecclesiastical states, *and also to all other states.* We therefore concede and grant to our well-beloved son Taddeo Barzozowski, at this time general of the Company of Jesus, who under the authority of the general, *ad interim*, shall be admitted and distributed, according to opportunity, in one or more houses, one or more colleges, and one or more provinces, where they shall conform their mode of life to the rules prescribed by St. Ignatius of Loyola, approved and confirmed by the constitutions of Paul III. We declare besides, and grant power, that they may freely and lawfully apply to the education of youth in the principles of the Catholic faith, to form them to good morals, and to direct colleges and seminaries. We authorise them to hear confessions, to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments, in the places of their residence, with the consent and approbation of the ordinary. We take under our tutelage, under our immediate obedience, and that of the holy see, all the colleges, houses, provinces, and members of this order, and all those who shall join it, — always reserving to ourselves, and to the Roman pontiffs, our successors, to prescribe and direct all that we may deem it our duty to prescribe, and direct, to consolidate the said company more and more, to render it stronger, and to purge it of abuses, should they ever creep in, which God avert. It now remains for us to exhort, with all our hearts, and in the name of the Lord, all superiors, provincials, rectors, companions, and

pupils of this re-established society to show themselves at all times and in all places faithful imitators of their Father; that they exactly observe the rule prescribed by their great founder; that they obey with an always increasing zeal the useful advices and salutary councils which he has left to his children.

In fine, we recommend strongly in the Lord the company and all its members to our dear sons in Jesus Christ, the illustrious and noble princes, and lords temporal, as well as to our venerable brothers the archbishops and bishops, and to all those who are placed in authority;—we exhort, we conjure them, not only not to suffer that those religious may be in any way molested, but to watch that they be treated with all due kindness and charity.

We ordain that the present letters be inviolably observed, according to their form and tenor, in all time coming; that they enjoy their full and entire effect; *that they shall never be submitted to the judgment or revision of any judge*, with whatever power he may be clothed; declaring null and of no effect any encroachment on the present regulations, either knowingly or from ignorance; and this notwithstanding any apostolical constitutions and ordinances, especially the brief of Clement XIV. of happy memory, beginning with the words *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, issued under the seal of the Fisherman on the 22d of July, 1773, which *we expressly abrogate*, as far as contrary to the present order.

It is also our will, that the same credit be paid to copies, whether in manuscript or printed, of our present brief, as to the original itself, provided they have the signature of some notary public, and the seal of some ecclesiastical dignitary; that no one be permitted to infringe, or by any audacious temerity to oppose, any part of this ordinance; and that, should any one take upon himself to attempt it, let him know that he will thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul.

[Given at Rome, at Sancta Maria Major, on the 17th of August, in the year of our Lord, 1814, and the 15th of our pontificate.]

Signed, CARDINAL PRODATAIRE.
CARDINAL BRASCHI.*

* Annual Register for 1814, vol. lvi. p. 438—441.

SCHEDULE TO WHICH THE ACT REFERS.

Date of the Registry.	Name of the Party.	Age.	Place of Birth.	Name of the Order, Community, or Society, whereof he is a Member.	Name and usual Residence of the next immediate Superior of the Order, Community, or Society.	Usual Place of Residence of the Party.

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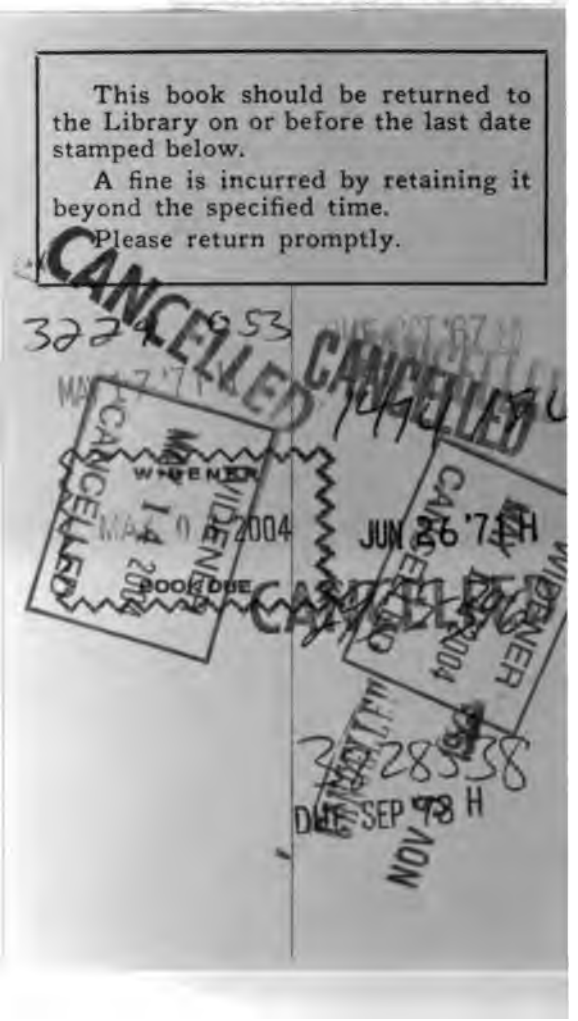
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